

# THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

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## SHALL THE REPUBLICAN PARTY LIVE?

The Republican party is the outgrowth of the nation's conscience and sense of justice. It was created by patriotic and god-fearing men, who braved the wrath of society and wealth, the immense political influence of the slave-holding class, and all manner of insults and persecutions, and who devoted the best years of their life to secure its ascendancy.

As soon as it obtained power the slaveholder's rebellion tried its courage, patriotism, and wisdom; but the people rallied to its support, and thus it was enabled to raise the armies and supplies necessary to uphold the unity of the American nation.

The Republican party, in its past, has only been another name for the nation. It enacted the free-homestead law, abolished slavery, enfranchised the slaves, swept from the statute books of nearly every State the remaining infringements upon the equal civil rights of all, and secured these fruits of the war in solemn amendments engrafted in the Constitution of the United States.

We are now told that its mission is ended—its task accomplished, and that, therefore, it must die. But we are unable to perceive why the party that has been

so capable, honest, and progressive in the past, and whose achievements constitute the brightest pages in American history, should suddenly become incapable to grasp the issues of the future as they arise; and we are fully convinced that if the Republican party is incapable of solving the pending questions of public policy, no one else is—because no other party has put forward any programme, plain and consistent, pointing the way to the future.

The perpetuity and ascendancy of the Republican party need not give any one the slightest concern. Schemes for its continuance in power by patronage, by alliances with great monopolies, by systems of manoeuvres, electioneering, and wire-pulling, are utterly worthless. All efforts in this direction are not merely a waste of power, but quite often positively injurious. He alone serves the party who serves the country; he alone contributes to the growth and strength of the party who advances the cause of justice, order, education, and public and personal morality; he alone is entitled to rank as the foremost Republican who deserves best of his country's gratitude.

Every philanthropist, statesman, philosopher, or publicist who gives birth

to a new thought, whose effect is to lift the burdens from the masses, and to teach them to be better citizens and men, is the real leader of the party.

Whenever the aims of the Republican party become selfish and corrupt, it will necessarily fall to pieces, because the conscience and independent thought of the nation, which it contains, will never support it in bad practices. In dealing, therefore, with all measures of public policy we may dismiss party entirely from view and simply ask the question: Is it best for the country? for if we do this we can safely trust to the intelligence and conscience of the people, who will, in their own interest, continue its ascendancy.

In a republic political parties are essential means, but they are not ends; therefore the editor who, in the remotest part of our land, contributes one idea or thought towards the solution of the intricate questions of social reorganization need not be afraid that it is lost because it bears not immediate fruit. We must not be impatient like children who dig up every day the seeds that they have planted to find if they will not sprout. The growth of ideas and the development of the national life are slow when compared with human existence. Three thousand years are to the life of a nation no more than eighty years to the individual. He who plants a tree, knowing that he will never enjoy its fruit, is no less a benefactor than he who expects the benefit of the fruition.

THE REPUBLIC is only partisan to the extent that it believes that the machinery of the Republican party and the disposition of the vast majority of its members are fully adequate to the securing of the best possible government

among men, and we welcome, therefore, every valuable suggestion, so that after due and full discussion it may become incorporated in its platform. The Republican party is only the nation's servant, and its duty is simply to ascertain the best methods of government, so that it may adopt them in its platform, and submit it for acceptance to the people.

The rising generation we welcome with joy. The Republican party places no limitation upon their thoughts; it fetters not their energies; it encourages investigation, and it accepts them as brothers and friends upon the sole condition that they seek diligently and disinterestedly the advancement of the common welfare, so that the happiness of all classes may be secured.

With aims like these inscribed upon its banners, and a steadfast adherence to principles so honorable and grand, the life of the Republican party will equal the life of the nation, while truth and justice will set the seal of immortality upon its brow.

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CORRECTION. — The paragraph on page 50 of THE REPUBLIC for April, which gives the united vote of the two Houses of Congress on the salary bill, should read as follows:

*For the bill.*

"*Seventy-five* Republicans, sixty-three Democrats; sixty-five outgoing members and Senators; eighty Southern Senators and members."

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It is estimated at the Internal Revenue Bureau that the tax collections under the new internal revenue law will be increased fifty per cent. because of the impossibility of defrauding the Government out of its special taxes, owing to the publicity which every manufacturer and dealer is compelled to give his special tax receipt by keeping the same open to the view of his trade.

## THE FARMERS' MOVEMENT AGAINST RAILWAY OPPRESSION.

Having for some years foreseen that the next phase of popular and political agitation would turn upon administrative and economic questions, we are not unprepared to consider these intricate subjects, nor does the Republican party shrink from the assumption of the responsibility to aid in their solution.

The agitation of the question of cheap railway tolls, which has been carried on in Illinois and the adjoining States, culminated in the holding of a regular State convention at Springfield, Ill., in which the farmers were represented by upwards of three hundred regularly chosen and accredited delegates; and thus the movement has assumed a magnitude that challenges the attention of the entire country.

We regret to observe that it is a class movement; for we would have greatly preferred if our citizens generally, without distinction of occupation or political profession, who are injuriously affected by the extortionate demands on the part of railways for toll and fare, had united to devise proper remedies.

There is always danger that a class movement will be self-interested, partial, and prejudiced, and that it will arouse the jealousy of other interests. The farmers are, moreover, likely to be tempted by political demagogues to incorporate in their platform resolutions of a purely political nature, so that a few of them may be inveigled into new party relations. Should they yield to these insidious suggestions the railroads will not be slow to take advantage of this mistake to divert the current of public opinion by the substitution of questions that are but remotely connected with the point of issue. Thus far the farmers have pursued a judicious course; and the resolutions relating to the increase of salaries and the tariff, which were adopted by the convention on the first day, were very properly reconsidered on the second, and laid upon the table upon the ground of irrelevancy.

Annexed are the resolutions, which fully set forth the nature of the complaints of the producing classes of the Western States:

"First. That all chartered monopolies not regulated and controlled by law have proven in this respect detrimental to public prosperity, corrupting in their management, and dangerous to republican institutions.

"Second. The railways of the world, except in those countries where they have been held under strict regulation and supervision of government, have proved themselves as full of arbitrary extortion, and opposed to free institutions and free commerce between the States, as the feudal barons of the middle ages.

"Third. That we hold, declare, and resolve that this despotism which defies our laws, plunders our shippers, impoverishes our people, and corrupts our Government, shall be subdued and made to subserve public interests at whatever cost.

"Resolved, That we believe the State did not, and could not, confer any of its sovereign power upon any corporation, and that now is the most favorable time to settle the question, so that it may never be hereafter misunderstood, that a State cannot create a corporation that it cannot thereafter control.

"Resolved, That, in view of the present extortions, we look with alarm upon the future of an interest which can combine, in the hands of a few men, a capital of nearly \$250,000,000 in our own State, and \$4,000,000,000 in our Union, and we believe it essential to the prosperity of all classes that this contest continue until those corporations acknowledge the supremacy of the law.

"Resolved, That we urge the passage of a bill enforcing the principle that railroads are public highways, and requiring railroads to make actual connections with all roads whose tracks reach and cross their own, and to receive and transmit all cars and trains offered over their roads at reasonable maximum rates, whether offered at such crossings or at stations along their roads, and empowering the making of connections by municipal corporations for that purpose and for public use."

We have omitted the publication of three resolutions because they are in the nature of a complaint against the Illinois Legislature, which has not yet



succeeded in devising laws that cover the above provisions. It seems to us that these complaints are not well founded, for it will be a task of the utmost difficulty, if indeed it is at all possible, to enact the foregoing propositions into laws that will stand the tests of the courts.

Our whole system of jurisprudence needs revision, for it works with such great uncertainty, and justice is comparatively so rarely done, that often in plain cases a long course of litigation ensues. Yet, in England and upon the Continent of Europe, where the judges are appointed by the government, and are taken from the most eminent baristers, and where the execution of a decree cannot be stopped or postponed with the same facility as in the United States, it has been found almost impossible to force railway corporations to obey the laws.

We are afraid that the farmers who are now so enthusiastic have not fully counted the cost, and that there is every chance that after some years of vexatious litigation the public mind will be wearied out, lose its vigilance, and accommodate itself to existing abuses. Therefore, whatever is proposed to be done should be carefully matured, for it is legal skill, systematic organization, and perseverance, instead of enthusiasm, which are required to bring this great question to a satisfactory issue.

We are very strongly impressed, moreover, that the remedies which are suggested in the above resolutions are not all that is required to insure to the farmer the full value of his productions and to the mechanic and workingman the fruits of his labor. We believe that the railways have been enabled to levy these extortionate charges, because the growth of the West and its productions have been so great that the existing channels, by railway and water, do not afford sufficient facilities for the speedy transportation of the crops, lumber, and general merchandise offered for transport, and necessary for the comfort of the people. Should the Legislature enact

laws ever so stringent upon the subject of freight and tolls, the railways will evade them by making special bargains with express companies, and so delay the transportation of goods that are shipped under the Government toll rates that shippers will be glad to submit to time contracts; for the sole remedy which the shipper would have in case of neglect or delay would be a vexatious civil suit for special damages.

President Grant, viewing this question from a broader standpoint, has repeatedly recommended that increased facilities of communication be created by the enlargement of existing canals, and the construction of others. In support of these recommendations, the Michigan Legislature adopted unanimously, at its recent session, joint resolutions endorsing General Grant's improvement projects, and declaring that the early construction of a ship canal would be a great source of relief for the rapidly increasing commerce of the Western States, and requesting the Michigan Senators and Representatives in Congress to use their influence to secure appropriations for the survey of a ship canal from some point on Lake Michigan to some point on Lake Erie or Huron.

Another valuable suggestion has recently been made by Charles Francis Adams, who has studied the question with much care. It is, that a sufficient number of railways be constructed or purchased by the Government, or by State Governments for the purpose of ascertaining what the actual cost of the transportation of freight and passengers may be; and for the further object of forcing the other roads by sharp competition to reduce their tolls. This remedy does not exclude legislative action for the regulation of railway charges, and is only suggested as a powerful means of enforcing obedience to the laws.

The project has also been mooted that the Government construct two or three double-track trunk-railways through the Western and Central States, upon which, on the payment of toll and under suitable regulations, private citizens can

run freight trains along the road-bed upon terms analogous to those by which boats are moved upon the canals.

A further method of relief lies with the farmers themselves, by emancipation from the necessity of using the railways to a very great extent. Farming in our Western States consists chiefly in raising productions in their coarsest form, as wheat, corn, and potatoes, upon which the charges of transportation constitute necessarily a very large per cent. of their intrinsic value. Would it not be well, therefore, if they would, as far as possible, first convert their raw productions into products of more concentrated and valuable forms, such as butter, cheese, beet sugar, wool, beef, and pork, and export these in the place of wheat and corn? This method would augment the fertility of their farms and greatly reduce the relative amount paid for transportation.

Another remedy is the creation of home manufactures and home markets. The farmer who is compelled to send a bushel of wheat East to pay for ten yards of calico or sheeting, is at an enormous disadvantage, because while it costs him one hundred per cent. to convey his article to the manufacturer, the manufacturer does not pay more than two per cent. ad valorem to place his article at the home of the farmer. This system of exchange is necessarily unequal, and can only be equalized by the establishment of home manufactures of cotton, cloth, woolen goods, hardware, farming implements, and all other articles that enter into the consumption of daily life.

When the convention on the first day adopted resolutions in pursuance of the insidious suggestions of wily politicians in favor of an indiscriminate repeal of all customs duties, that assemblage gave its voice, unconsciously, it is true, but nevertheless certainly, in behalf of the present system of railway oppression.

It must be manifest to every intelligent man that the annual expenses of the Government can only be secured by taxation, and that \$300,000,000 per annum

must be forthcoming or the Government is bankrupt. Since this taxation must necessarily exist, why should any farmer object to the assessment of the national taxes in a manner that will foster home industry and a home market? The city of Chicago has raised the value of farm produce within a radius of a hundred miles, and when the West becomes dotted with cities of the first class, the farmer will no longer be compelled to send his wheat to Liverpool for a market; and extravagant charges on raw products will affect him but slightly.

There is another question connected with the supervision of railways which ought also to be fully considered—the safety of life and limb upon American railways. The *American Railway Times* reports that 174 persons were killed or severely injured in January, and 133 in February last, and that the casualties of the last year amount to nearly 1,400. Daily and hourly are men cut down in the prime of life by this railway mismanagement. Fully sixty per cent. of these casualties are occasioned by the displacement or breakage of rails, which imperfections could be remedied by reasonable supervision and frequent inspection.

It is the duty of the statesmen of the Republican party to take charge of this movement, and to provide adequate remedies. A Congressional committee to take into consideration the question of intercontinental transportation by water routes is in session during the recess, and we hope they will give to the country a scientific and well-matured report, worthy of the important subject upon which it treats, and if they should not be successful we advise the creation of a permanent commission.

The result of the labors of a board of steamboat commissioners upon our inland marine has been an immense saving of life and property, and we see no sufficient reason why an analogous commission should not be applied to the protection of life and property on all the railroads of the country, and also to interoceanic trade and travel.

There are few questions with which the



statesman is called upon to deal that present so many difficulties as the one under discussion. Legislation of a revengeful character, and which would work injury to railways as such, or cripple them when they are well managed, and that would cut down freights and fares below living rates, is neither for the best interests of the country, nor would it meet with the sanction of public opinion. Neither Congress nor the State Legislatures are in possession of sufficient data to determine with certainty what the rates of fare ought to be, and we hope that before anything is undertaken a beginning will be made at the foundation. The press can, by giving its attention to these facts, and viewing the question from an objective and unprejudiced standpoint,

contribute largely to its proper solution.

We assure the farmers of the West that it is the disposition of all citizens who are not directly or pecuniarily interested in railways to aid them in this cause and to sympathize with them in this struggle, and every attempt to teach them that the mechanical and professional classes are unfriendly and not to be trusted, should be treated as an insidious suggestion from the enemy. Whatsoever is for their best interests is for the best interests of all. Their gain is our gain; their prosperity is our prosperity, and, therefore, all classes, without distinction of occupation, ought to be invited to consider this momentous subject, so that it may be wisely adjusted.

## THE DEATH OF GENERAL CANBY—THE GOVERNMENT'S INDIAN POLICY.

It is Friday, April 11, 1873. A tragedy at the lava beds! Canby is dead! Thomas is dead! Sherwood is dead! Meacham lies mutilated! The nation is shocked! The cry is vengeance! Retribution, swift, sure, exterminating!

It was a foul deed! A deed of perfidy and blood! There might be possible aggravations, but the imagination shrinks from their contemplation.

Far up in Northern California lies a volcanic region, rugged, wild, grand with the majesty of nature. In the bosom of the great hills are spread three sheets of shining water. They are Wright lake, Rhett, and Klamath. Magnificent forests stretch around them. Near by, upon the south is a range of rocks, a mile or two in breadth, extending a dozen miles in length. They spring up in some points two hundred feet from the ground smirched and jagged, yet clear cut from everything around them. They are full of caves and secret passages—a piece of gigantic honey-comb which the hidden swarms of forces beneath have lifted into sight. They form the fortress of the Modocs. Inaccessible, impregnable, they look down upon the troops of the United States! No batteries can subdue

them! No mining can explode them. They frown defiance on the highest art and most destructive elements of modern warfare. Panic or hunger only could dislodge from such a position even a feeble force.

Who are the Modocs? They are but a small tribe—not more than 250 or 300 all told.

They have been known to our people some twenty years. When first discovered they were found in their own haunts on Lost river, in Southern Oregon, and were entirely friendly.

About 1850 the search for gold brought in to that region a class of miners of the roughest and most ruthless sort. Their outrages upon these friendly Indians were simply terrible. But after a time a better state of things ensued, and the Modocs remained without molesting or being molested.

In 1864 a treaty was negotiated, by the provisions of which the Klamaths and Modocs were to be placed on a reservation in the Klamath country, and though this treaty was not ratified by the United States Senate till 1870, yet prior to this a portion of the Modocs, about 70 or 80, went on to the Klamath reserva-

tion. But Captain Jack, followed by about five-sixths of the tribe, had never signed this treaty nor assented to it in any way.

In the winter of 1869-70 Superintendent Meacham induced them to go upon the reservation. They were assigned a place, where they commenced erecting tents and clearing land. The Klamaths annoyed and vexed them. By the direction of the local agent they were removed to another part of the reservation. Here again they were still more annoyed by the Klamaths, who now demanded a tribute upon all they produced. For the third time the local agent ordered them to another more distant part of the reservation, and refused the rations he had before allowed them. It was in the rigor of a winter's night when this was done, and Captain Jack, followed by his people, took up the line of march back to their old haunts, 50 miles away, on Lost river.

Here they remained without disturbance till the superintendent (Mr. Meacham) again approached them by two persons, (his brother and Mr. Applegate,) who were instructed to induce them if possible to return to the Klamath reservation, but, as the last resort, if they would not yield, then to offer them a reservation on Lost river. To this latter proposition they eagerly consented. But Mr. Meacham was soon after superseded, and this arrangement was never formally sanctioned by the Government.

The Modocs, however, remained as they were, supposing the matter had been finally settled. They were now divided into three camps or villages, extending over some 15 or 20 miles. And the first they knew that any other course would be pursued toward them was from an order sent up in November last to remove them to the Klamath reservation, "peaceably if they would, forcibly if they must." The next morning before day-break Captain Jack was surprised in his camp or village by an assault of some 30 soldiers, with other parties of hunters and settlers, which resulted in killing four or five Indians. The Indians immediately retaliated by going through the

settlements marauding, pillaging, and killing innocent victims. This was the commencement of the Modoc war.

But the Modocs were not alone in this. Other tribes for similar causes have acted in a similar manner. As against the United States Government with all its power they know they are weak and helpless they have nothing to oppose but cunning, perfidy, and the slaughter of the whites wherever they can accomplish it. Deceived often by forms of treaty stipulations; betrayed by pretended friends; plundered by Indian agents; driven and pushed away from the lands and hunting grounds of their fathers before the advancing tread of the white man; taught by preëminent examples of his perfidy in the history of the past; made a thousand times worse by contact with the worst elements of the white race; left almost wholly to the ignorance and barbarism of a brutal animal condition—it is not to be wondered at that they should distrust everybody; that they should regard the white race as their natural enemies; that they should become rapacious, furious, and relentless.

The evil which lies at the foundation of all our dealings with the Indians hitherto has been lack of mutual good faith! This is one of the giant shames of our American history. Who will forget the long series of complaints uttered by the Indian orators from the beginning, with a pathos and eloquence peculiar to themselves, and which no classical refinement of the schools can ever imitate!

Who can forget the violation of the most sacred obligations known to human honor, by our people in Pennsylvania during the colonial period, when they came down to old Lancaster, entered the gates of a prison where Indian children were confined, and, before the eyes of their fathers and mothers, dashed out their brains against the prison walls! Who can forget the act of treachery perpetrated by the very officers of our army upon the Seminole chiefs in Florida during the administration of Jackson, when remorselessly violating the sacred flag of truce, and all the plighted troth of



the nation, they seized them in the very council to which they had called them, and made them prisoners for life. So Osceola died, a captive, after long years of misery—died of a broken heart!

The news of the fall of Canby and the peace commissioners is more than embittered by the remembrance of these things!

The present Administration, taking into the account all such considerations, has attempted what has never been done before, to inaugurate a general Indian policy upon the principles of peace, friendship, and good faith. Its object is to do all that a wise, just, and paternal Christian government can do to preserve the remnants of a race that is fast fading from the earth; to civilize and Christianize them; to elevate them, and confer upon them all the blessings which belong to the most favored communities of men. For the first time in the history of the Government it has undertaken to inspire the Indians with confidence in its good and wise intentions; to beget in them a spirit of good-will; to repair as far as possible the wrongs of the past, and to show the red men that our object is not injustice and oppression, but brotherhood, amity, and concord!

It is a difficult task! The lowest passions, the most sordid vices of human nature on both sides are against it! All the rough, savage selfishness of the reckless and remorseless life of the border is against it. All the fierce avarice everywhere, that has so long preyed upon and plundered the Indian heritage, is against it!

Appreciating the manifold obstacles and possible dangers of this undertaking, the Administration has appealed to the highest moral sympathy of the nation. It has called to its aid the Christian sentiment of the country. It has commissioned the best men which our times can furnish to conduct its negotiations with the Indian tribes. It has assigned the work of enforcing its policy to some of the bravest, wisest, noblest officers and portions of our army. It has designed by all possible means, both material and

moral, to conciliate the red men. It has been laboring to have them see and understand what will be for their highest interest. It has been exercising all patience and all diligence to effect this object. Its purpose is to collect the scattered and roving bands upon suitable reservations, where they shall live in an orderly, peaceful, and prosperous manner—shall be plentifully supplied—shall be thoroughly protected in all their rights, and shall in return fulfil all their just obligations.

Thus the Administration is engaged over a vast and distant field of operations. The possibilities of casualties and sad occurrences; of miscarriage; of sudden outbreaks; of direful calamities; of costly affrays; of the loss of our truest, best, and bravest citizens are almost countless.

And now we have one culmination in this Modoc war. These savages, counting but 60 or 70 warriors, besides their women and children, having passed through the usual vicissitudes of disappointment, of thwarted purposes, of long delays of justice; having some of them for a time tried submission to the ways of the white man; having made a few futile efforts at the cultivation of the soil, but being perpetually harrassed by hostile, neighboring tribes; having been annoyed, deceived, and then inflamed by the reckless white gamblers and speculators always hanging around them; and having at last been driven off from their chosen haunts and habitations, at length cast off all restraint and declared a bitter and relentless war, in which their hand is against every man's hand, and in which they seem resolved, knowing that they must perish, to sell their lives at as dear a sacrifice as possible.

So they have made Captain Jack their leader, and getting what provisions, arms, and ammunition they could, they have intrenched themselves in the lava beds, and there they have remained as yet invincible!

In this situation the Government, after the repulse of last November, left the conduct of affairs principally to the wis-



dom and firmness of General Canby, commanding on the Pacific coast, and one of the noblest, bravest, coolest, most experienced officers of the army. With him have been associated a clergyman and civilians of the highest repute for candor, intelligence, position, and worth of character, who went upon the perilous undertaking as the Peace Commissioners of the Government.

They took with them, it is true, men and weapons of war. But they were seeking to negotiate with the Modocs upon the principles of peace. The morning of the 11th of April dawned. The day rolled on. There came down from the rocks a white flag. It lured away the General and the commissioners from their place of safety. It was indeed a flaunting lie! It covered the deepest atrocity of human perfidy. The meeting place was fixed upon. Riddle, the interpreter, it is said, warned them of treachery. "If they will go," he exclaimed, "I wash my hands of their innocent blood!"

Calmly and consciously they met the wily chief and his associates. The parley was brief. When the remorseless savage, running behind the General, cried "all ready!" snapped his pistol, cocked again and fired, Canby fell, shot through the head! Thomas, the minister of peace, who had lived only to proclaim salvation to his fellow men, fell dead beside him. Meacham fell fearfully wounded. Dyer escaped as by a miracle, and Riddle, with his squaw-interpreter finally came back to camp! A cry from the signal station, which had overlooked it all, aroused the officers and men, who rushed to the scene of slaughter, which was a mile away. But Captain Jack and his fiendish comrades had already stripped the General and the others, and escaped among the rocks.

With hearts too full for utterance and with streaming eyes, they lifted the yet warm bodies, bloody and soiled, and bore them away in anguish. Then the tidings flew on the wings of the wind. The lightnings have told the story in the most distant hamlet of the country.

Infidelity has often sneered at the re-

cords of the Old Testament. The exploits of the Hebrews in wasting and exterminating the doomed idolators have been a standing theme of mockery for ages; yet we have to-day in the midst of the light of civilization, and of all the advancing science of the nineteenth century, a commentary on those records of antiquity, which the touch of one chord of outraged humanity proclaims as with a universal voice to be true and imperative! This Modoc band of assassins must be exterminated; not to bring back the noble and illustrious dead; not to soothe the sorrows of private grief so poignant in the hearts of loving kindred; not to appease the offended wrath of a great nation, not even to grind and crush a handful of wretched savages infuriated and filled with the spirit of demons, who gloat over the agonies they have caused; no, not for any nor all these provocations, but only for the sake of outraged justice, for the sake of a public lesson of warning to teach those who are dealing on both sides of this Indian question, that good faith must be kept; that treachery is one of the foulest crimes of humanity; that there is an outlawry which must entail a sure and swift destruction; and that when men, savage or civilized, have been turned into demons by whatever cause, they can be suffered no longer to pollute the earth by their presence.

It may seem strange that such a result should be wrought out by the very courses of good faith and amity; and yet there is no other conclusion. And while we fully endorse the noble sentiments of a report made to the President in 1868, and signed by Messrs. Taylor, Henderson and Tappan, Generals Sherman, Harney, Sonborn, Terry and Augur, we yet feel that a power lies back and over all those noble thoughts of charity, which comes in unexpected ways to demand stern justice. Still let us remember this accurate description:

"So little accustomed to kindness from others, it may not be strange that he often hesitates to confide. Proud himself, yet conscious of the contempt of the white man, when suddenly roused by some new

wrong, the remembrance of old ones still stinging in his soul, he seems to become, as expressed by himself, blind with rage. If he fails to see the olive branch or flag of truce in the hands of the Peace Commissioners, and in savage ferocity adds one more to his victims, we should remember that for two and a half centuries he has been driven back from civilization when his passions might have been subjected to the influences of education and softened by the lessons of Christian charity!"

All this is true; but when at last maddened and insensible to those last offices of friendship, he places himself beyond the pale of forbearance, there is but one fate and that is destruction!

The peace policy, therefore, which the Administration is pursuing requires the extermination of the Modocs; they have shown themselves irreclaimable; they are no longer fit to live!

But there is beside all this a question of economy of life and treasure which no blind rage ought for a moment to shut out of our view. It has already been demonstrated by a very elaborate report made to Congress during the last session that an immense saving has even now been effected by the peace policy of the Government.

Then, moreover, what can measure the value of that security among the white population which would be endangered if not entirely destroyed by a general Indian war?

The Sioux Indians alone could mass together a force sufficient to employ 20,000 United States troops. And being in the very region where the works of the Northern Pacific Railroad are to be carried forward, they could endlessly harass, if not absolutely arrest, the progress of that great enterprise.

Since this article was written we hear that the Modocs have broken camp and escaped from the lava beds, and, eluding pursuit, they are roaming hither and thither, plundering and killing wherever they come, and spreading alarm and terror among the peaceful inhabitants. Their extermination has cost still further loss of human life, and who can balance the account before what seems now to be

demanded can be completely accomplished?

But how is it with those communities who, as we hear from the far West, have in their sudden bewilderment of horror and rage arraigned the members of the Cabinet here at Washington, as though they had been guilty of this high crime? How have the people of Jacksonville on that distant coast been so transported as to vent their anger on the head of the honorable Secretary of the Interior? And how has the metropolitan press of the country been so far carried beside itself as to hurl anathemas upon the head of the President, as though he were responsible for this great calamity? And how is it that there should be a loud and prevalent demand from so many quarters for the swift and total abandonment of the peace policy of the Government?

Such ebullitions of passion can do no possible good whatever. The peace policy is one of the noblest efforts of the present Administration. That policy is one demanded by every consideration of philanthropy, political economy, and Christian statesmanship. Its life and essence are in one principle, *the keeping of good faith on both sides*. This has never been done before as the law of national honor and truth requires. *It must now be done*. And in this the best elements of this great nation will rally around the Administration, and while we drop the tear of sorrow over the grave of Canby and his fallen associates, and recognize how fearful is the cost of doing right, we must bow in silence before the mystery of God's providence, and acknowledge the dispensations of that higher administration which controls with unerring wisdom and unswerving justice all the affairs of men!

UNDER the proposed plan for the new iron steam sloops of war, six guns are to be carried; one 11-inch pivot, four 9-inch broadside, and one pivot gun on the fore-castle deck. The hulls will be of iron, sheathed with wood, with an outside sheathing of copper. This plan is adopted to prevent the fouling of iron bottoms in warm latitudes.



## JAPAN.

The recent political revolution and subsequent march of civilization in Japan, is one of the most remarkable indications of the progress of society on record. China is beginning to relieve herself from the bonds of superstition, and India is making some progress in the march of civilization, forced largely, however, by outside influence. But Japan, the island nation of the Mongolian race, is outstripping all the other Asiatic Powers in her voluntary efforts to equal the western nations in the general advance to a higher condition of civilization.

To bring the changes occurring in that country more visibly before the mind of the reader, it will be necessary to glance briefly at the condition of Japan at the time of the arrival of the United States expedition there, under the command of Commodore Perry, and note the contrast now presented in the new mode of government, commercial policy, manners, morals, educational facilities and religious toleration of that people.

## JAPAN AS IT WAS.

The empire of Japan dates back about two thousand six hundred years. They were always an exclusive people, isolated from the rest of mankind, opposed to foreign commerce, and to the intercourse of foreigners upon their own territory. The Portuguese succeeded, in 1540, in assuring a limited trade with the Japanese nation, which was continued till 1600, when the Dutch under severe restrictions and humiliating conditions obtained an entrance to some of their ports for purposes of trade. With the Portuguese came the Jesuit missionaries, under Francis Xavier, whose zeal, together with that of his proselyting priests, went far at a certain period, towards changing the national religion. But the Jesuits themselves forgetting the precepts of their spiritual mission, attempted to control the government. Their intrigues excited the alarm of the officials, and the Dutch, through jealousy, secretly lent their aid to increase

the excitement until it resulted in the expulsion of the priests and the execution or dispersion of their native converts. From that time the Japanese ports were closed against the Portuguese and all other foreign traders, excepting the Dutch, who, upon condition of renouncing their religion and submitting to a humiliating surveillance, were permitted to remain and trade at one of their ports.

All attempts of other nations failed to open intercourse with Japan, until the treaty of March 31, 1854, made with Commodore Perry, opened the country for purposes of a limited commerce, to the five great Western Powers. Next followed a treaty with Russia. The Dutch, also, about the same time succeeded in obtaining better terms; and in 1858 additional treaties, on a more liberal basis, were made with the United States, England, and France.

But the internal policy and condition of the country underwent no change. The government was an oligarchy, formed by two councils of state, with the Mikado as spiritual or chief emperor, and the Tycoon as secular emperor, at the head of the military and executive departments, but subordinate to the Mikado from whom he received his authority. It was remarked truthfully of those two heads of the government that "the one reigns, but does not govern; the other governs but does not reign." The two councils were composed of daimios or territorial lords, the higher council of five being the "Imperial Old Men," and the lower council of seven, called the "Young Old Men." The men composing these councils were elevated from among the two hundred and sixty-four hereditary daimios, who were the lords of the soil or vassal chieftains of the first class, and who virtually controlled the secular emperor. The greater portion of the land was parcelled out among these daimios, who received seven-tenths of the produce, and allowed the cultivators three-tenths for their labor.



The principal religion of the country was Sintoism, or worship of the great sun-goddess, from whom the Mikado was held to be a direct descendant, and as such united in his person the attributes of deity. Buddhism was not introduced until the 552d year of the Christian era.

Two distinct kinds of writing have been in use, one of which, and the most ancient of the two, is a system of hieroglyphic symbols; the other is of more recent adoption or invention, and has an alphabet of 47 characters. The latter is in popular use, but the former is still retained for state purposes.

Their currency consisted of iron cash—the *sapec* being only the 5,320th part of a dollar. It was, however, their only real circulating medium—the people seldom seeing any other. Copper, silver and gold coins, made only with a hammer, were in use but were confined to the purposes of exchange and the uses of the government.

The habits of the people were peculiar. The *hari-kari*, or belly cut, was a legalized mode of suicide, produced by making two cross-cuts across the abdomen, practised as a self-imposed punishment for criminal or dishonorable acts. The holidays were numerous; besides five great national festivals, each year, there were innumerable holidays of a religious character, and devoted to the worship of their gods. The degraded condition of the women was similar to that of all other pagan communities. Mr. Seward remarks in his comments on the habits of the people of Japan, that there still remains over the door to the entrance of one of the old temples which he visited, the following warning in prominent characters: "Neither horses, cattle, nor women admitted here." Children were affianced by their parents, and the bride and the bridegroom were prohibited from seeing each other until after the marriage ceremony was over. From the time of their marriage the teeth of the woman were ever after blackened, the eye-brows were carefully plucked out, and artificial ugliness was scrupulously cultivated. The bath was a pop-

ular institution, and it was the custom, especially among the sexes in the middle and lower classes, to enter the public baths promiscuously and in a nude state; while the classes or eight grades in society recognized no social relations or intercourse of one class with the other. Men of rank only could enter a city on horseback, and the Yetas, or bondmen, were looked upon and treated as mere beasts of burden, without any of the rights of society.

#### JAPAN AS IT IS.

With this condition before the mind, of Japan as it has been for two thousand years, and down to a recent date, a few of the more prominent changes now occurring in that country, will be cited, briefly, and as nearly as possible in their chronological order:

The treaty made by the Tycoon and Commodore Perry terminated the protracted isolation of Japan, and opened the commerce of that country to competition with the trade of the world. This was soon followed by other and more liberal treaties with European Powers and with the United States. The commercial intercourse of the western nations with Japan continued to increase in amount and in its value. Western merchants, representing large mercantile houses, took up their residence in Japan, and the silks and teas of that country were carried into every part of the civilized world, while the sons of some of the higher classes were sent abroad to receive a liberal education. The isolation of the country was removed thoroughly and forever.

A revolution followed. It was probably the only means available to divest the nation of its double and inharmonious government. The retainers of the Tycoon had become inexorable tax-gathers. The people attached themselves to the side of the Mikado. The Tycoon lost his power and his liberty. His office was abolished and its duties were either dispensed with or assumed by the Mikado. The daimios lost their power and nine-tenths of their revenues; while their subordinates, the sai-

mios were thrown entirely upon their own resources. Taxes were reduced or rendered less burdensome. The Yetas or coolies (degraded bondmen) had their disabilities removed and now enjoy the rights of citizens.

The promiseous use of the public baths by the sexes has been prohibited and abandoned. The disgusting obscenity exhibited at some of their religious festivals has been suppressed; and the printing and sale of obscene books and prints has been prohibited by law. The legalized system of a voluntary sale of girls, by their parents, for the vilest of purposes, has been abolished, and this "vast army of unfortunates," as they were represented, have been released, from the contracts made by their parents.

A railroad between the principal great centers of trade and through a portion of the interior of the country, has been projected and completed by a native company, with Japanese capital, credit and labor. A line of telegraph stretching across the empire, and connecting the last links of the lines around the world, has been completed and put in operation.

The restriction upon the export of rice has been removed, and a dozen foreign vessels may now be seen, at a time, loading with that article for European and American markets. Japanese tea, unknown to the outside world until Commodore Perry opened the Japanese ports to foreign commerce, is now imported and used everywhere, and is held to be superior to some of the higher grades of Chinese teas. For purity and delicacy of flavor it has no superior, while its freedom from artificial coloring secures for it a degree of confidence among consumers, not granted so readily to the teas coming from their neighbors.

Instead of preparing their coin with the hammer, they have now a mint on the plan and equal in extent to that of Philadelphia. The most improved modern systems of banking have been introduced, and their paper currency—printed for the present in New York city—is similar in quality and style of

that of the National banks of the United States.

An extensive and thorough system of education has been adopted and is now being introduced. The empire is divided into eight grand educational districts, each of which has, or will have, a university, twenty-five academies, thirty-two middle schools, and six thousand seven hundred and twenty common schools. From the middle schools and academies one hundred and eighty young men, selected by competitive examination, are to be sent abroad each year for education.

The English language forms one of the principal branches of study, and thousands of volumes of text-books, in geography, arithmetic, philosophy and the higher mathematics, have been imported from England and the United States, and are for sale in all the book-stores in the large cities, both in the English language, and translated into Japanese. All the old laws are to be revised and printed in English, and the new laws, as soon as they are promulgated, instead of being posted on the road-sides and sign-boards are to be published in a daily official paper.

The national custom of shaving the crown of the head is forbidden, and the hair is now worn as in other countries. The style of dress has also, to a large extent, been changed, and made to conform to that of western communities. London hats and London ready-made clothing form the principal staple articles in many of the stores in the prominent cities. Henceforth the officials are all required to dress in foreign uniforms.

The mode of measuring time has been changed. Instead of the variable lunar months, heretofore used as the basis in the subdivision of time, the Japanese nation commenced on the first day of January, 1873, to tally time with the rest of the world.

The numerous holidays for worship at their shrines and temples, have all been abolished excepting New Year's day and the anniversary of the birth of the Mi-

kado; but more remarkable still, the Christian Sabbath or Sunday, has been substituted in their place. The government department of religion, which hitherto has been next in importance to the department of state, has been abolished, and the telegraph announces that a decree of religious toleration has been issued; while Christian churches are being organized, and composed in part of native members.

These are some of the more substantial changes already effected in Japan; while the good work is still going on, and with accelerated force and success, under the fostering influence of the government and the progressive spirit of the people.

That the United States has contributed largely of the influences that have produced these results, will be readily admitted. But while we have "come to the front" as the tutor of the "decaying Asiatic nations," a corresponding responsibility comes home to us individually and as a nation, which cannot be disregarded with impunity. In his "Travels Around the World," page 93, Mr. Seward remarked that: "If the tutorship of the United States in Japan is to be made successful, it must be based on deeper and broader principles of philanthropy than have heretofore been practised in the intercourse of nations—a philanthropy which must recognise not merely the distinction of power and strength between nations, but the duties of magnanimity, moderation and humanity—a philanthropy which shall not be content with sending armies or navies to compel, but which shall send teachers to instruct, and establish schools on the American system, in which philosophy, politics and morals, as well as a religious faith, are taught, with a just regard to their influences in social and domestic life."

#### JAPAN IN THE FUTURE.

Japan is just now passing through a critical experience in its history. The sudden conflict of European nations with races less advanced in intelligence has in nearly all cases, in the past history of the world, resulted in the exter-

mination or degradation of the former inhabitants. Anticipating the possibility of "history repeating itself," the Japanese have been preparing themselves against a similar shock and its effects. They have passed the crisis in safety, by wisely abandoning many of their antique systems, and seizing upon the more advanced customs of other powers. They are lifting themselves up to a level with the higher grades of civilization. They have already secured many of the elements of success, and have placed themselves beyond the possibility of a disastrous retrograde movement, either by the government or the people. Japan will not go back, either by their own volition or as the result of an outside pressure. Her policy and her destiny are upward and onward.

The national area is 266,550 square miles; and although that is less than the area of the single State of Texas by 7,856 square miles, yet Japan sustains a population equal to that of the entire American Union. It is composed of four large, and some four thousand small islands. The great inland sea or bay of Japan is four hundred miles long and "marvelously beautiful," as Mr. Seward expresses it. Its borders are thoroughly cultivated in every foot of the soil, and dotted with cities, towns and villages. In its waters there are said to be several thousands of islands, of which the group on the St. Lawrence, known as the "Thousand Islands," is a miniature representation.

The climate and the cereal and vegetable productions of Japan correspond very closely with those of North America. Their domestic animals are also similar to our own. The country is nearly all under a high state of cultivation. The people are industrious, frugal and contented. The women, hitherto degraded, as in all pagan countries, are coming rapidly to assume their proper place in society. School-houses are taking the place of pagan temples, and their gods are offered in the markets for the price of old copper. Their plural government has become a unit, and strong,



though yet without a legislative branch; but this is also promised in the near future.

Intellectually the people of Japan are of a high order; and this, with the deep interest manifested by the Mikado and his officials, in selecting from other nations and adopting the best system of government, revenue, education, inter-

nal improvement, exchange and commerce, is a safe guarantee for the future greatness of that wonderful people. Japan will become the "Star in the East" to which the other Oriental Powers will look up, and be stimulated to a commendable rivalry in the grand march of civilization among all the nations of the world.

## THE FISHERIES.

A treaty between the United States and Great Britain was signed in the city of Washington May 8, 1871. Among other things this treaty provided for an adjustment of all questions that have been so long in dispute in regard to the fishing interests of the people of the two nations. During the recent session of Congress a bill was introduced in the House to carry out these treaty stipulations on the part of the United States. An instructive debate followed, which elicited some facts that will deeply interest the people of all the northern tier of States as well as of the whole country.

The Representatives from Michigan, Maine, and other Northern States complained of those provisions of the treaty and of the bill which allows Canadian fishermen on all our northern inland waters to import their fish into the United States free of duty, and that there shall be no duty on the articles and implements used in their avocation by the Canadian fishermen, while some articles and implements used by American fishermen are still subjected by existing tariff laws to a duty of thirty-five to forty per cent. of their value; and it was claimed that this unjust discrimination would prove ruinous to the interests of the American fishermen in those waters, where there is now invested in the business \$2,000,000. They also complained of another provision of the treaty and of the bill, which allows free transportation in British vessels from one port of entry to another within the territory of the United States, provided that a portion of such transportation is made through the Dominion of Canada by land car-

riage and in bond. It was contended that the effect of this will be to restore the whole carrying trade to Canada, and so work as to wrest from our shipping men on the great lakes most of that which had been secured by the industry, ingenuity, hardihood, and enterprise of American navigators. It was also stated that the bounties formerly granted to our fishermen were taken off, and from the time of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 they were left to struggle with a competition that was ruinous.

But it was contended on the other side that an effort is now being made to establish something like real reciprocity in the carrying trade that will cheapen transportation and commodities, and to advance upon the principles of commercial liberality, and that this effort, made in good faith, and in view of broader considerations, which had not been heretofore provided, should not now be thwarted by any mere local interest or interest of one particular class. And to show the effect of this more liberal policy, it was stated that in 1854, when the reciprocity treaty went into operation, that breadstuffs imported into this country from the British provinces amounted to \$11,000,000, while our exports amounted to only \$1,500,000; that in 1864, after ten years of the operation of that treaty, we imported \$6,000,000 worth and exported \$9,500,000 worth; that in 1854 the city of Chicago exported less than \$3,000,000 worth, and after ten years of that treaty it exported \$41,500,000 worth; and that in 1864 the lumber trade of the United States was \$100,000,000, of which we imported from the British provinces

less than \$90,000 worth. And it was contended that a still greater advantage will result to the Northwest from the present treaty of 1871.

A new doctrine has thus been declared, and while free transportation in British vessels is now for the first time allowed between the ports of entry in the United States, at the same time our importing merchants are authorized to import from foreign nations directly to their own chief cities without breaking bulk and without even appraisement; and the proposition is to extend the same privilege to the people of Canada, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury. It is further stated that the present treaty gives us a *right* to use the canals, especially the Welland canal, which before was only accorded by *favor*; that it also secures by *right* the full, free use of the St. Lawrence river, for which our fathers have contended from the foundation of the Government. Through the effect of the present treaty we have also the advantage of four or five principal lines of navigation from four to five thousand miles, with thirteen canals, three hundred miles in length, with the sole condition of paying a reasonable sum for their use. Besides this, the present treaty gives our fishermen the right, which they never had before, of fishing in British waters at any distance from the land, the rule previously existing which forbade them to fish in any waters three miles from the shore, being hereby abolished. It also gives our fishermen the right to cure fish on the land of the provinces, and thus an opportunity never enjoyed before to make up mixed cargoes for the West Indies trade, in this way contributing largely to the resuscitation and increase of such commerce.

Beyond all this was the consideration of the honor of the country in keeping good faith with Great Britain and in recognizing our treaty obligations.

It is hoped and expected that time will show the wisdom and foresight of these treaty obligations. When it is remembered that many vital questions of long standing and of great embar-

assment, which had baulked all former efforts at amicable settlement were thus adjusted, we ought to be willing to give at least a fair trial to the new policy which has thus been inaugurated.

**OUR INDIAN POPULATION.**—The following facts in relation to our Indian population, compiled from the ninth census, will be of general interest. The total number of Indians in the United States is 383,712; of this number 111,185 are in the States, and 272,527 in the Territories. The total number sustaining tribal relations is 357,981; out of tribal relations, 25,731. The number on reservations and at agencies is 96,366. The following table shows the number of Indians in each State and Territory:

STATES.		STATES.	
Alabama.....	98	Ohio.....	100
Arkansas.....	89	Oregon.....	11,278
California.....	29,025	Pennsylvania....	133
Connecticut.....	235	Rhode Island....	154
Delaware.....	.....	South Carolina....	124
Florida.....	502	Tennessee.....	70
Georgia.....	40	Texas.....	639
Illinois.....	32	Vermont.....	14
Indiana.....	240	Virginia.....	229
Iowa.....	348	West Virginia....	2
Kansas.....	9,814	Wisconsin.....	11,511
Kentucky.....	108		
Louisiana.....	569	TERRITORIES.	
Maine.....	499	Alaska.....	70,000
Maryland.....	4	Arizona.....	32,083
Massachusetts....	151	Colorado.....	7,480
Michigan.....	8,101	Colorado.....	7,480
Minnesota.....	7,040	Dakota.....	27,520
Mississippi.....	809	Dist. of Columbia.	15
Missouri.....	75	Idaho.....	5,631
Nebraska.....	6,416	Indian Territory..	59,367
Nevada.....	16,243	Montana.....	19,457
New Hampshire....	23	New Mexico.....	20,738
New Jersey.....	16	Utah.....	12,974
New York.....	5,144	Washington.....	14,796
North Carolina....	1,241	Wyoming.....	2,466

**THE** ridiculous flurry which the New York papers made on the Curtis resignation is only another evidence of how little there is to censure in the conduct of the Administration. While we cheerfully testify to the scholarship and editorial ability of Mr. Curtis, we are fully convinced that all the most impracticable and unpopular features of the civil service rules were devised or suggested by him, and that civil service reform is likely to be the gainer by his resignation. In fact his resignation is a matter entirely personal to himself, and not of the slightest consequence either to the civil service, the Administration, or to the country at large. We have no doubt Mr. Curtis himself regrets the unwarrantable manner in which his name has been used.

## THE FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS—PARLIAMENTARY REFORMS.

As the incoming House of Representatives will be composed of upwards of three hundred members and Territorial delegates, a reform in the methods of transacting the legislative work of that body is exceedingly important, and statesmen as well as publicists can render to the state most valuable service by a careful consideration of this somewhat intricate subject.

On many questions of state policy we can profit by the experience of other nations, but in the solution of this problem the parliamentary precedents of Great Britain, of the American Congress, and of the Legislatures of the several States alone are of value, because these bodies, notwithstanding their manifest deficiencies, represent the most advanced system of parliamentary law.

In the monarchies upon the continent of Europe the right of legislative initiative is denied to the Chambers; and the laws are so carefully matured by the executive departments that the details are rarely changed. Even in England this course is adopted on all measures of importance; and the Ministry, representing the executive departments, controls very generally the minutiae of legislative enactments. In the United States the legislative initiative rests entirely with Congress—the recommendations of the President's messages and the reports of the departments being general in their character, their formulation into laws, except in special cases, rests with the committees of both houses.

So great is the legislative fecundity of individual members that the slaughtered bills, resolutions, and constitutional amendments, like the thousands of useless patents granted, afford a curious yet interesting demonstration of intellectual activity misapplied. The number of bills and joint resolutions thrown into the great legislative pot during the last Congress number upwards of five thou-

sand for the House and two thousand for the Senate, and their contents are as various as the contributions of the three witches whom Shakespeare's immortal genius caused to brew ill-dire and portentous over the devoted land of the Scots. Fortunate, indeed, it is for the country's welfare that not one in twenty of these legislative nostrums is ever applied to the body politic. And we are by no means desirous to secure such changes of the rules as will induce a rapid increase of the quantity of legislation. In fact, it matters not how much the legislative machinery may be out of order, nor how clumsily the rules may work, we shall always have a superabundance of personal and interested legislation.

The deficiency of the present method of transacting legislative proceedings manifests itself in the crude and undigested state in which the laws are ground out, so that neither the executive departments can understand nor the judiciary expound them. The weakness of the present system lies in the fact that but a very small minority of the members, generally not more than three or five, have a chance to become acquainted with the legislative propositions on which they are compelled to vote, and this unfamiliarity frequently leads to incongruous, unwise, and even fraudulent legislation.

Although the next House will number only about three hundred members, this is by no means the maximum. After every census the House will be enlarged, so that parliamentary rules ought to be devised that will admit of the intelligent transaction of business by four or five hundred members. Should the House be composed of only three hundred members thirty years hence, States like New Hampshire and Vermont would have only a single member, and the New England States probably not more than thirteen. Therefore an addition of



numbers will necessarily follow each census.

Every member of the House represents even now a larger number of persons than are represented in any other legislative body of the civilized world. The German parliament is organized on the basis of 100,000 persons to one representative, which gives 400 members to forty millions of people; and a similar ratio would increase the membership of the House—taking an account of the minor States, fractions, and delegates—to upwards of four hundred.

The French, Italian, and Spanish Chambers, as well as the House of Commons, are all organized upon a smaller basis of representation; so that we find the maximum in the House of Representatives. The present ratio of souls to each representative is about 130,000, and the propriety of a further increase of that ratio after each census is a question of grave importance, which, however, can be discussed at some future period. Suffice it to say that it is the most advanced opinion of political thinkers that the further the representative is removed from personal contact with the elector the less likely is he able and disposed to carry out the will of his constituents, which is the fundamental purpose of representative government.

The executive officers, whose duty it is to administer the laws, have often been astounded at the carelessness with which even most important statutes have been drawn. An instance of this is the statute providing for the manner in which United States Senators shall be elected, which came from the Judiciary Committee of the Senate—composed of the ablest lawyers of that body, and which elicited considerable discussion—prescribing most clearly the procedure in cases of vacancies at the expiration of the term, or during the recess of the legislature; but in the case of the recent resignation of Henry Wilson, it was found that the legislature could not act in advance of the actual happening of the vacancy, thus compelling the State of Massachusetts to remain only partly

represented for two weeks. It has already been discovered that some of the laws enacted during the last session are so defective that they defy the legal ingenuity of the departments.

In view of this growing evil, which all honest legislators perceive and deprecate, we have undertaken to suggest several remedies, which are not intended to exclude others, but are advanced to elicit a full discussion.

#### THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE COMMITTEES.

Notwithstanding there are upwards of twenty standing committees of the House, four of them have under their control the greater portion of all the measures that come before it, while, perhaps, ten others control nine-tenths of the balance of the business. There is, as might be expected, a great pressure to secure places on these committees, and the Speaker frequently gives offense. The committees of preëminent importance are Ways and Means, Appropriations, Judiciary, and Commerce, and these might be composed of at least fifteen members each. This would combine the talent of sixty of the most prominent members, afford a fairer representation to the interests of the various sections, render corrupt combinations more impracticable, and enable sub-committees of five members to take up the work in detail.

Not quite as prominent, but equally laborious, are the Committees on Election, Banks and Currency, Public Lands, Post Office, Patents, Claims, and Foreign, Indian, Military, and Naval Affairs. These committees might also with propriety be composed of no less than thirteen members, because absences are unavoidable, and there is ample work to be done if they choose to do it well.

#### OPEN SESSIONS.

These committees might also meet at least once each week in open session, so that the parties and the public interested could be represented by counsel. If the pending measures were openly discussed the public would have a much better

chance to comprehend current legislation; and both the departments and the members of the House generally would have notice of the work in progress. Confidential sessions are no doubt necessary, but they are not incompatible with public sessions whenever the nature of the business before the committee requires public investigation.

#### REGULATION OF THE LOBBY.

If parties or the general public could, as a matter of right, appear before the committees by counsel to state their case, Congress could regulate the lobby, and place it upon a more respectable footing. It could easily be provided by law that only counsellors in good standing, and having certain qualifications, should be allowed to practice before committees, that their names be registered, and that in case of malpractice they should be debarred. A lobby we shall always have, and it is a serious question whether it should be permitted to work in the underhand and irresponsible manner in which it has accomplished so much mischief.

#### THE AYES AND NOES ON THE FINAL PASSAGE.

It should also be enacted that no bill shall be passed without a vote by ayes and noes on its final passage. This would place the responsibility of all legislation beyond cavil, and lead to greater care and deliberation. It is true under the present system, when it takes thirty minutes to vote by ayes and noes, much time would be consumed, but even that would be better than to fill our statute books with crude and often injurious legislation.

#### TAKING THE VOTE BY TELEGRAPH.

We are, however, assured that the ayes and noes could be recorded with absolute accuracy in a single minute—faster, in fact, than a vote can now be taken by division or by tellers—by means of electricity. Every member could record his vote on a dial, by simply touching a telegraph key on his desk; for the apparatus has been fully tested, and parties are anxious to introduce it in the House whenever they can get permission. If

the House had once tried the new way, it could never be induced to submit again to the present tedious and cumbersome method of calling the ayes and noes.

#### REDUCTION OF THE HOUR RULE.

As the number of members increases, the time to which each one is entitled to speak upon any current topic must necessarily be limited. At present, any member who is entitled to the floor, has a right to hold it for one hour; and the consequence is that, unless an evening is specially set apart for discussion, very few members not chairmen of a committee can get the floor in their own right. This causes a general scramble for five or ten minutes as a matter of grace from the member who holds the floor.

In view of the fact that a debate is by far more interesting when speakers are compelled to speak to the point, and that it is within the power of the House at all times either to extend the time to the speaker, or to permit him to print the balance of his remarks, we believe a reduction of the hour rule into a thirty-minute rule would work to great advantage. An exception might be made in behalf of the member who has the measure in charge, who might be permitted to occupy a full hour after the previous question had prevailed. Every one at all conversant with the proceedings of the House, knows that whenever a member begins to read an interminable roll of manuscript, only a few personal friends, out of courtesy, listen, because the House instantly knows that what the member is about to read is addressed to his constituents, and not to the House. On the other hand, whenever a member has really something to say to his fellow-members, and says it well and to the point, as much attention is paid to him as in any deliberative body anywhere.

#### REGULAR CORRESPONDENTS AS COMMITTEE CLERKS.

A very bad practice has of late obtained of employing the regular correspondents of the metropolitan press as clerks on important committees. There are a number of serious objections to



this course, only a few of which we have space to enumerate. First, it places a very great temptation in the way of the newspaper man to exchange secrets with another similarly situated, and thus matters of the utmost consequence—like treaties and financial measures—are divulged. Secondly, it destroys their independence, and they become, therefore, incapable of passing a fair judgment upon the action of Congress; and, lastly, having, as employes of the House, access to the floor, the temptation to lobby for or against certain measures becomes almost irresistible. Thus it will be perceived that the practice of employing correspondents as clerks to committees is a very serious evil, which has led to great abuses.

#### AN OFFICIAL DAILY REPORT.

Among the minor evils which tend to produce bad legislation, is the fact that the public is totally dependent upon the irresponsible agents of the Associated Press for its knowledge of Congressional proceedings. We mean by irresponsible, not that the Associated Press agents are persons of bad character, but simply that they are under no legal responsibility to be accurate. We know, and we might cite examples in proof, that for reasons to us unknown much more space is given to some speakers than to others, and that the synopsis brings out more clearly the salient points of the debate on the side which the reporter chooses thus indirectly to advocate.

We believe that both Houses should employ competent stenographers, who should furnish condensed accounts of the proceedings to all journals that chose to avail themselves of the privilege. With the Government telegraph and cheap rates, very full reports could be made to appear in every daily journal in the United States. Publicity of Congressional proceedings is one of the great safeguards for honest legislation.

#### CONSOLIDATION OF APPROPRIATION BILLS.

Believing that among the most important tasks which Congress, and particularly the House of Representatives, has

to perform is the careful scrutiny of the annual expenditures, we hold that the division of the appropriations into twelve or fifteen different bills tends to defeat this object. We would recommend that there be but one appropriation bill (unless there is a deficiency bill) denominated the budget, and that it be taken up early in the session and kept before the House not less than a month. As the estimates are most intelligently prepared, and are so well arranged that any gentleman of ordinary intelligence can comprehend them, the bill could easily be framed which would present to Congress the total expenditures of the ensuing year.

The rule which excludes new legislation ought also to be more strictly adhered to, for our most important provisions of law are found as amendments to appropriation bills, where they could not be fully matured and considered. If the annual budget were made the main work of the session, the appropriation of millions of dollars would not be entrusted to conference committees of three members of each House, any two of whom are able at the last hour of the session to secure the expenditure of millions of dollars.

#### AMENDMENTS TO THE RULES.

Another drawback is that the business of the morning hour is permitted to interfere with the general current of business, so that some of the most important committees have no chance to report during the entire session. If the presentation of bills, &c., were confined to Monday exclusively, and each of the important committees had two consecutive days assigned to it, and the balance one day—the business going off the floor with the committee—there would be more ample opportunity for the regular and consecutive transaction of legislation.

#### CONCLUSION.

These questions are deserving of the most careful consideration, because if there is anything in our parliamentary rules and practice that tends to induce careless and improper legislation, the



people demand that it should be arrested. The perpetuity of the Republic and the safety of the Republican party alike are at stake; for we hear the murmurs of the people demanding greater purity of legislation. Our statesmen must either lead or abdicate; they must either devise measures for reform and the nation's security, or the places that know them now will not know them beyond the terms for which they have been chosen.

We have heard it charged that the American nation itself is corrupt, and that Messrs. Brooks and Ames are its natural and appropriate representatives. We well recollect that similar opinions were expressed when the rebels precipitated the late war upon our people; for it was claimed that they had neither the virtue nor the courage to defend their birthright of liberty. But the echo of the cannons that thundered against Fort Sumter dispelled these misconceptions of the American character as speedily as the sun dispels the noxious mists of the morning. And thus it is to-day; for whenever the people realize that not merely a few millions of money are at stake, but that the life of the nation itself is in danger because some of our public men have joined the army of public plunderers—more insidious, and therefore more dangerous than an armed foe in the field—they will rise as one man, throwing aside all party trammels, to correct the great wrong.

That great nation which so lavishly poured out its life and treasure to save the Union, has both the virtue and vitality to hurl corrupt men from power.

In view of the iron necessity for speedy reform, we appeal most earnestly to our statesmen and publicists to think, to plan, to remove obstructions, and to construct an enduring edifice of state.

Negative and barren criticism is the bane of progress. It not only is incapable of accomplishing reforms, but it adds to the existing discontent. It is like a consuming fire, that destroys the good and bad without discrimination. Peace and prosperity will only abide with us when every citizen is seriously

devising measures to secure the welfare of all—which is one and inseparable with good government and the Republic.

AN OLD ENEMY UNDER A NEW NAME.—The Democratic party has at last found its Moses. Hendricks, of Indiana, is reported as the coming man who is to lift Democracy from the gutter and place it upon the throne of political power. He has already had a conference with his antiquated friends who have grown old waiting for office, and has assured them that if they will follow him he will lead them into the promised land. This Indiana statesman, it is understood, proposes a radical change of programme. He has not as yet advised his friends to join the Republican party, but he has done the next thing to it—advised them to drop the Democratic name and assume a title that will at least disguise the old material, and convey to the public an idea of patriotism and honesty. This is a bold step, but a leader to be worth anything must be bold; so in this new departure Hendricks proves himself a leader. He calls upon his followers to make a great sacrifice, but as they have nothing to lose except a name and everything to gain, it is quite probable that this latest political prophet will have a respectable following. We are willing to do all we can to help Hendricks in this labor of love. The old Democratic party has been galvanized into life so many times that we are in sympathy with anything that will permit the old shell to be buried from sight, in a grave so deep and secure that no political resurrectionist can disturb its remains hereafter. What Greeley commenced we sincerely hope Hendricks will finish. If he can succeed in demolishing the name of Democracy the reformation will be complete, for there has been nothing left but the name for the past ten years. For the sake of human civilization we trust that Hendricks will be encouraged in his good work. He has some tough customers to deal with, but if he has faith enough to wrestle in the good cause, he may before the close of the present century see the consummation of his hopeful dreams.

## CANADIAN INDEPENDENCE AND CONTINENTAL UNITY.

In the acquisition of territory, the general policy of the United States has been to avoid the system of conquest and force pursued by other Powers, and to make voluntary cession and the free consent of all parties concerned the basis of action. By treaty with Great Britain, in 1783, the limits of the territory of the United States were defined; by treaty with France, in 1803, the "Province of Louisiana" was ceded to the United States; by treaty with Spain, in 1819, the territory then known as the "Provinces of East and West Florida" were ceded to us; in 1845 Texas was admitted to the Union; in 1848 and 1853 Mexico ceded the territory now covered by California and Nevada and the Territories of Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico; and by treaty, in 1867, Russia ceded Alaska to the American Union.

In all these acquisitions the conditions and stipulations were mutually satisfactory. The same policy still continues, and probably always will prevail, on the part of the United States Government, in the acquisition of territory. President Grant in his last inaugural address said: "While I hold my present office the subject of the acquisition of territory must have the support of the people before I will recommend any proposition looking to such action." At the same time, he unhesitatingly stated that he "does not share in the apprehension held by many, as to the danger of the Government becoming weakened and destroyed by reason of the extension of territory;" and adds: "Commerce, education, and rapid transit of thought and matter, by telegraph and steam, have changed all this. Rather do I believe that our Great Maker is preparing the world in his own good time to become one nation, speaking one language, and when armies and navies will be no longer required."

Here we have the key-note to the sentiment and policy of the American Government on the important question of annexation. If Santo Domingo, Cuba,

or Mexico on one side, or the Provinces within or outside of the Dominion of Canada on the other, desire to join their fortunes with those of the American Republic, they can reach the ear of the Government only through the voice of their own peoples and by securing the coöperation of those of the United States. This is in harmony with the spirit and principles of republicanism, which recognize public opinion as the infallible basis of all genuine progress in the march of civilization.

The President, however, while he pledges his Administration against all initiative annexation movements, does not ignore the principle and practicability of continental unification. His language, as already quoted, is emphatic on that subject. And he is not alone in his views in reference to its advantages. Many of the more intelligent minds in Cuba and Mexico believe that the prosperity of those territories would be largely augmented by a union with the American Republic. This sentiment is largely reciprocated in the United States. But more generally has the attention of thoughtful minds, on both sides of the boundary, been directed for some time past to the mutual advantages of a permanent political union of the British American colonies with the United States. The sagacious mind of that great statesman the Hon. William H. Seward long contemplated the mutual gain that would come from such a result. His last utterance is recorded on one of the first pages of his "Travels Around the World," published since his decease. In starting upon his journey, he crossed over and traveled through Canada, "because," as he says, "the Canadian route is the more direct one to Detroit." He there records his experience and faith in the following words:

"Canada, though no less fertile, is more thinly inhabited than the American shore. Immigration obeys political instincts. It prefers the established equality and social security of the United States. It will be long before either



Canada or Mexico can realize its invigorating power. This may seem hard, but it is clear that only one great nation can be built on one continent at one time. The remedy for both of those countries is the same—accession to the United States. Canada has hesitated long, but it will see and feel this truth at last—that it is better to be an equal constituent member of a great, powerful, and free nation, than a small, feeble, and isolated state, even though equally free.”

That such a consolidation of interests would be followed by mutual advantages has now become the almost universal impression on the minds of all parties concerned. It would at once, and probably forever, remove all causes of possible disruption in our commercial relations, and secure the blessings of perpetual peace at home and abroad. The baneful effects of an extensive system of smuggling goods across the present boundaries would be brought to a permanent termination. Custom-houses and stations and custom-house officers with their aids, along four thousand miles of States and contiguous colonies, would all be dispensed with, and continental commerce would be as free as the waters of the lakes and rivers over which it passes. Standing armies and navies would be reduced to the mere requirements of a land and water police. Immigration and capital, more than ever before, would be attracted to the united continent, and flow freely in its distribution from the fishing coasts, mineral districts, and agricultural portions of the new States to the extreme South and West, and over to the Pacific coast. Internal taxes would cease, excepting upon luxuries, and the rapid reduction of the consolidated public debts of the Dominion and the United States, together with the regular expenses of the one government, would be provided for in the revenues from importations; while the tariff, by its judiciously arranged protective features, would stimulate manufactures and kindred industries in the newly-organized States, as it is now doing in every other portion of the Union.

These facts are familiar to the intelli-

gent mind in England, as well as in the colonies and the United States. The *London Times*, in a recent editorial referring to the relation between the British colonies in America and the parent State, says:

“We are both now in a false position, and the time has arrived when we should be released from it. Take up your freedom. Your days of apprenticeship are over.”

After quoting the above, together with other equally suggestive remarks on the subject from the *London Times*, the *New York Tribune* truthfully remarks that—

“In England it has long been evident that Canadian independence must soon be established; it has been evident in the United States; it has been evident everywhere except in Canada itself. What is to come after independence seems to us pretty clear.”

To which the Yarmouth (Nova Scotia) *Herald* responds:

“Independence, it is admitted on all hands, cannot be very remote, and ‘what is to come after independence’ is obvious enough. ‘It is ‘manifest destiny,’ and that is not likely to be long delayed.”

Similar sentiments are entertained by fully a majority of the people in the British colonies contiguous to our eastern and northern borders. The *Summerside* (Prince Edward Island) *Progress*, issued on the last day of 1872, in an editorial argument with a contemporary editor, make this suggestion:

“Let him propose the choice between annexation to the United States and confederation with the Dominion to any assemblage of farmers he may meet in any part of the island, and he will find that nine out of ten of them will emphatically declare in favor of annexation.”

And he adds:

“We repeat that had there been free trade between this colony and the United States this year, our potato crop alone would have increased at least £200,000 in value—a sum very considerably greater than the debt of the colony, previous to the passage of the railway bill, and equal to fully one-fifth of the railway debt, which we all feel to be so great a burden.”

In another issue the same paper, in an



argumentative editorial of great force, uses the following language:

"Who does not see that, compared with the benefits of annexation, taxation is a mere trifle; that union with the United States is the ultimate destiny of these provinces must be clear to every intelligent man who can see an inch beyond his nose; and the people of this island ought to welcome every measure which is likely to bring about so desirable a change."

In a later issue the same writer, in a lengthy editorial upon the subject, argues thus:

"Granting that an imaginary line of frontier cannot keep men of the same race, speaking the same language, and whose interests are identical, long separate, what then? Would it not be a thousand times better for these provinces of North America to become part and parcel of the greatest republic the world ever saw—to share in its power and prosperity—than to drag out a miserable existence as the insignificant dependency of a great power whose statesmen affirm, in the plainest terms, that they consider them a burden and a clog?"

Take the sentiment of another section of the colonies. A prominent gentleman in Western Canada, of great intelligence and a large business experience, in a recent letter to an official in Washington, says:

"Our connection with the mother country has never ceased to be, commercially, a misfortune—a barrier to our progress. *It prevents the development of our resources, and will continue to do so until we establish a protective tariff.* These views are not exceptionable among our legislators and better informed men; but the masses, perhaps, do not comprehend the great benefits to be derived from such a policy."

The colonial press pretty generally concedes the advantages of a protective tariff, but the popular sentiment in the colonies goes further, and claims that by a union with the States the protective system, with a thousand other advantages, would, at the same time, be realized.

The following editorial article from the St. John (New Brunswick) *Daily Globe*, January 17, 1873, affords an insight into the present state of feeling in the Provinces on the question of union:

"ANNEXATION.—The Halifax *Express*—owned by a salaried official of the Do-

minion of Canada—is delighted at some facts published by the New York *Herald*, from the pen of one of its representatives, who professes to have gone through the Dominion, and to have found no annexationists. If the *Herald's* representative was in this city, he certainly did not call at the office of this paper, or he could have got some information on the subject of annexation if he wanted it. The *Express* is delighted to find that there is not enough annexationist feeling to galvanize even a country paper into circulation.

"It is true that there exists no organized body of annexationists in any part of the Dominion, but the number of annexationists is very large and is rapidly increasing. Lately leading annexationists have had in contemplation the starting of two daily newspapers, one at St. John and one at Halifax, of a class far ahead of the daily press of either of these cities. The funds would be forthcoming at a moment's notice, and the \$100,000, or thereabouts, capital necessary for the enterprise, would be subscribed in less than a week in these two provinces. In the capital of New Brunswick there are two journals which, while they do not bring the subject forward very prominently, are not unfavorable to a discussion of the question. In this city a leading daily journal is known to be favorable; in Halifax, Yarmouth, Pictou, and other parts of Nova Scotia there are journals friendly to annexation, and throughout the length and breadth of all the provinces there are thousands of people who believe annexation inevitable, although they are of opinion that it will not take place yet, and that, therefore, its discussion is premature. If, however, any event were to bring up the matter for sudden discussion the annexation element would prove to be much larger than it is supposed to be.

"That a very great advance has been made in this matter in public opinion is evident from the fact that the whole question is likely to be discussed on its merits at any moment. Dislike of the Yankees has died out entirely; the mere sentiment of loyalty has given place to the patriotic consideration of what is best for the country, and there is a willingness to listen to argument on the subject that never before existed. Of course there are yet thousands so devotedly attached to British institutions and to the British flag that they would consider annexation of itself a great calamity; but there are tens of thousands who, if satisfied that it would be a material benefit, would throw sentiment to the winds."

The two principal classes in the colonies who oppose the union are the salaried government officials, who do it from self-interest, and old and prejudiced immigrants from Great Britain, who have been trained from their youth to believe that there can be nothing worthy of their approval beyond the influence and control of England. But both selfish interest and prejudice must ultimately yield to public opinion.

In preparing this paper for the columns of *THE REPUBLIC*, the principal object has been, by quoting the popular press and the sentiments of prominent statesmen on both sides of the imaginary boundary lines, to afford the inquiring reader correct information on the present state of feeling in regard to this important question. Whatever the result is to be in the future, two things may now be accepted as settled. One is, that the popular sentiment in the United States is almost universally in favor of closer political, commercial, and social relations between the two Anglo-American communities, and the people are ready for a unity of government whenever similar views become equally popular on the other side of the boundary. The other fact is, that the United States Government will neither initiate nor advise a movement looking to this consummation until the colonial sentiment in its favor is fully developed and endorsed by the parent State. The fast friendly relations now existing between the States and their neighboring colonies, and especially between the British and the American Governments, are too important to be sundered unnecessarily; and all future changes affecting these triangular interests must be based on the consent and approval of each and all of the parties concerned.

**NUMBER OF MALES AND FEMALES IN THE UNITED STATES.**—The number of male persons in the United States is 19,493,565; the number of females, 19,064,806; excess of males, 428,759. Total population, according to the recent census, 38,558,371. The census of 1860

showed an excess of males of 727,087. The falling off of the male population is probably owing to the losses by the war of the rebellion.

The following are the States and Territories which show an excess of males. These tables have been carefully compiled from the census of 1870:

States and Territories.	Males.	Females.	Excess of males.
Arizona.....	6,887	2,771	4,116
Arkansas.....	248,261	236,210	12,051
California.....	349,479	210,768	138,711
Colorado.....	24,820	15,044	9,776
Dakota.....	8,878	5,303	3,575
Delaware.....	62,628	62,387	241
Florida.....	94,548	93,200	1,348
Idaho.....	12,184	2,815	9,369
Illinois.....	1,316,537	1,223,354	93,183
Indiana.....	857,994	822,643	35,351
Iowa.....	625,917	568,103	57,814
Kansas.....	202,224	162,175	40,049
Kentucky.....	665,675	655,336	10,339
Michigan.....	617,745	566,314	51,431
Minnesota.....	235,299	204,407	30,892
Missouri.....	896,247	824,948	71,399
Montana.....	16,771	3,824	12,947
Nebraska.....	70,425	52,568	17,857
Nevada.....	32,379	10,112	22,267
New Mexico.....	47,135	44,739	2,396
Ohio.....	1,387,550	1,327,710	9,840
Oregon.....	53,131	37,792	15,339
Texas.....	423,557	395,022	28,535
Utah.....	44,121	42,665	1,456
Vermont.....	165,721	164,830	891
Washington.....	14,990	8,965	6,025
West Virginia.....	222,843	219,171	3,672
Wisconsin.....	544,886	509,784	35,102
Wyoming.....	7,219	1,899	5,320

The following States, together with the District of Columbia, show an excess of females:

States, &c.	Males.	Females.	Excess of females.
Alabama.....	488,738	508,254	19,516
Connecticut.....	265,270	272,184	6,914
District of Columbia...	62,192	69,508	7,316
Georgia.....	578,955	605,154	26,199
Louisiana.....	362,165	364,750	2,585
Maine.....	313,103	313,812	709
Maryland.....	384,984	395,910	10,926
Massachusetts.....	703,779	753,572	49,793
Mississippi.....	413,421	414,501	1,080
New Hampshire.....	155,640	162,660	7,020
New Jersey.....	449,672	456,424	6,752
New York.....	2,163,229	2,219,530	56,301
North Carolina.....	518,704	552,657	33,953
Pennsylvania.....	1,758,499	1,763,452	4,953
Rhode Island.....	104,756	112,597	7,841
South Carolina.....	343,902	361,704	17,802
Tennessee.....	623,347	635,173	11,826
Virginia.....	597,058	628,105	31,047

OAKES AMES cheerfully accepted his extra pay, and assured the Sergeant-at-Arms that he should put it where it would do the most good.



## POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS.

A few weeks ago the national capital was the scene of a considerable panic among the depositors of the Washington City and the Freedmen's Savings banks. In regard to the former institution, the National Bank Examiner, in a report to the Comptroller of the Currency, had said that it was a "private banking and brokerage establishment under the guise of a savings bank;" and while conceding that it was "safely, carefully, and profitably conducted," very properly suggested that it be required to "assume a title more in accordance with the character of the business now being conducted by it." In regard to the other bank, the same officer had stated that many of its loans were "of a character that should not appear upon the records of a savings bank," and would probably result in some loss to the institution, though, at present, it would be very difficult to determine its probable amount. At the same time his statement of the bank's assets and liabilities showed that the excess of the former over the latter was only \$7,090 24. Considering that the total deposits in the bank amounted to over four million dollars, this was but an insignificant surplus; yet, to show even this, it was necessary to include among the assets of the institution the value of the buildings, (so far as these are owned by the bank,) in which its principal office and its branches are conducting their business.

Whatever gives reason for a feeling of insecurity in connection with the institutions wherein the poor deposit their savings strikes a severe blow at public prosperity. All increase in the aggregate amount of capital must come from the excess of production over consumption—that is, from savings. An increase of capital means an increase in the power to produce. To illustrate this, take the case of two farmers, one of whom has strong teams and plows deep, while the other scratches the surface of his fields with a yoke of scraggy oxen; one of whom uses reapers, mowers, and all the

most improved agricultural implements, while the other does his work by hand; in short, one of whom has a sufficient capital to work his farm in the most advantageous way, while the other has not. It is evident that, with an equal number of workmen, and a farm equal in extent and quality, the former will produce very much more than the latter, for his land, under the supposed circumstances, must be far better cultivated, and his harvests will be gathered more promptly and in better condition. This is only one illustration out of thousands of the value of capital as an auxiliary to human industry. A more striking illustration still may be found in a cotton factory employing say one hundred operatives, if we compare the annual product of such a factory with the amount which the one hundred operatives could produce by working separately with the old-fashioned spinning-wheel and hand-loom. Mr Robert Dale Owen, in the first chapter of his autobiography, now in course of publication in the *Atlantic Monthly*, gives a brief account of the introduction of machinery into cotton manufactures, in the course of which he says:

"Thus a tiny superintendent—boy or girl—took the place of a multitude of adult work-people. Myself, at the age of twenty-three, superintending a manufacturing establishment where some fifteen hundred operatives were employed, I had a thousand opportunities to witness the skill and fidelity with which these child rulers acquitted themselves. I found that each one of them, aided by the magical rollers, was even then producing as much in any given time as two hundred cottage spinners had done before Arkwright's day."

Such is the vast productive power of machinery. But machinery is capital, and can only come into existence as the result of saving. If every one ate, drank, and wore all he earned, the labor of all would be absorbed in producing the daily necessities of life, and none would be left for the erection of great factories and other establishments of similar char-



acter for the purpose of future production—in other words, a progressive, material civilization would be impossible. Many of the great industrial establishments of our Eastern States have been built in considerable part out of the accumulated money of operatives, borrowed by capitalists from the savings banks in which it had been deposited; and the owners of the various small sums which thus in combination help to furnish the means of carrying on important enterprises, receive, through the medium of the bank, a portion of the profits of those enterprises, in the form of interest on their deposits.

But, multiplied and wonderful as are the devices for aiding and expediting industrial effort, it is nevertheless true that a vast majority of the human race are still plodding along in the old ways, their labor producing but a small fraction of what it might produce could they provide themselves with the best appliances which modern ingenuity has invented. It is of such appliances that the thing we call "capital" chiefly consists, their money equivalent only serving as a temporary "medium of exchange" in effecting their purchase. Hence it is evident that to give the labor of the human race the efficiency of which it is capable, a vast increase of capital is indispensable; and it will be one of the functions of a higher civilization to promote this increase of capital, as well as its advantageous diffusion by arrangements far more elaborate and far grander in their scope than any hitherto devised. This, however, is too large a subject to be discussed in the present connection.

If we confine our view to our own country we shall not fail to discover that a large portion of our industry is carried on at very great disadvantage in consequence of the want of adequate capital. Especially will this fact strike one in passing through some of the poorer agricultural districts of the South, where one will often see farms of two, three, or even five hundred acres, whose owners, though enjoying a certain rude comfort and independence, can only live in a

style of the most primitive simplicity. The secret of this is to be found mainly in the want of stock and implements for the proper cultivation of their land. It is, of course, impossible to make an accurate mathematical statement upon such a subject, but it can hardly be an exaggeration to say that if all the labor performed in the United States were advantageously employed in conjunction with the best mechanical appliances, its productiveness would be increased fully one hundred per cent., and that the general comfort and prosperity of the people would be enhanced in the same ratio.

Now, if capital is thus valuable, and if its augmentation would thus promote the public welfare, the importance of encouraging and facilitating those habits of saving, through which alone such an augmentation can be effected, is self-evident; and especially is this true in regard to the working classes, who, in the absence of opportunities for the safe and advantageous disposal of the small savings that are possible to them, are apt to yield to the temptation of spending all they earn. An incidental result of this is that they too often fall into habits of intemperance; for where the savings bank is wanting the rum shop is tolerably sure to prosper. Thus the lack of opportunities for saving not only causes the waste of millions of dollars yearly that might be added to the producing capital of the nation, but it fosters vice, idleness, and degradation.

A recognition of this fact, and a philanthropic desire to do good, rather than calculations of pecuniary interest, appear to have first suggested the establishment of savings banks. It is generally believed that the first institution of this kind was established at Berne, Switzerland, in the year 1787, though M. Gustave du Puy-node, in his work "*De la Monnaie, du Crédit, et de l'impôt*," states that a savings bank was founded at Hamburg in 1778. About the beginning of the present century several institutions of this character were established in Great Britain, the earlier ones apparently all having their origin in a benevolent desire to

improve the condition of the poor; and such appears to have been the theory of the law as to the origin of those subsequently organized. Their managers and trustees were usually noblemen, ministers of the Established Church, and other prominent persons, to the number, in some instances, of a hundred or more. But however sincere at the outset may have been the interest of these gentlemen in the enterprises to which they thus lent their names and influence, they appear gradually to have lost their zeal, and left the management of the banks to their treasurers, actuaries, and the other officers immediately in charge of their business; and when the frauds and defalcations, which might have been foreseen, finally occurred, the depositors discovered that the gentlemen in whose names they had confided were not legally responsible for the money committed to the institutions established under their auspices. In some instances trustees and managers contributed from their private fortunes to replace the money lost by the dishonesty of bank officials; but notwithstanding this the net loss to depositors during the seven years, from 1844 to 1851, as shown by a parliamentary return, amounted to £109,452, or considerably more than half a million dollars, exclusive of the gigantic Dublin case, which alone amounted to about \$280,000.

The natural effect of these and subsequent failures was to impair public confidence in the savings banks, and, what was still more unfortunate, to strike a severe blow at those habits of industry and frugality which it had been the original design of the savings banks to foster. To the question, "Can you state, from the general feeling of the country, what evil consequences will be the necessary result of this failure?" Mr. Justin Supple, of Tralee, in his evidence before a parliamentary committee, in 1848, made the following reply: "Taking this failure in connection with the fears of famine which have been upon the people for the last two or three years, I think the consequence will be to drive

the class who have been hitherto industrious and economical in their habits into vice and wickedness, because the dissipated characters who have saved nothing now look upon the poor, industrious creature who has been cheated, laugh at him, and tell him they have spent their own money, while the industrious man has had somebody else to spend his for him."

In Mr. Greg's able pamphlet on "Industrial Investments," published in 1852, he quotes a jovial footman, who argues thus: "Why should I save? My fellow-servant, the butler, pinched himself in every conceivable fashion, earned the reputation of a niggard and a miser, that he might stow up a couple of hundred pounds (\$1,000) to set up a shop and marry upon. He invested it in the Rochdale Savings Bank; the manager made away with £70,000 (\$350,000) of the funds entrusted to him; the trustees, it seems, are not answerable for the defalcations; and I have now the satisfaction of knowing that my fellow-servant is as poor as myself, and that all his long years of self-denial have been thrown away."

In 1861 Mr. Gladstone, as Chancellor of the British Exchequer, introduced and carried through parliament the measure known as the Post Office Savings Bank bill, by which small depositors were offered a degree of security for their funds, such as had never before existed. Says Mr. Arthur Scratchley, in his treatise on savings banks:

"He appears to have considered it easier to carry out an entirely new system than to overcome the opposition of the savings bank officials to every government measure proposed in a friendly spirit—an opposition which began twelve years ago with reference to Sir Charles Wood's bill of 1850, in which a state guarantee was first offered to depositors, provided the savings banks consented to subject themselves to proper supervision and control. In consequence of their repeated refusals to accept this reasonable compromise, although again offered to them in 1853, 1854, and 1857, Mr. Gladstone felt compelled to enter upon a separate line of action. Hence his proposal to establish a government savings bank, of which the center should be the na-



tional debt office, and the agency the post office."

A plan quite similar in principle to that of Mr. Gladstone had been proposed as early as 1807 by Mr. Whitbread, M.P., who introduced a measure having for its object—

First. To enable the poorer classes to obtain investments for their savings, or to buy stock or bank annuities in small sums by payments transmitted through the general post office, at an expense of one penny in the pound.

Second. To establish a "poor's assurance office," to enable persons subsisting wholly or principally by the wages of their labor to make provision by assurance for their families.

Mr. Whitbread's measure, which appears to have been carefully and elaborately drawn, was too far in advance of his time to be accepted; but the establishment of the money-order office in 1838 paved the way for that of postal savings banks, for which, as we have seen, the public mind was still further prepared by the bank failures already referred to; and since the adoption of Mr. Gladstone's measure in 1861, Mr. Whitbread's other idea—that of a poor's assurance office—has been substantially realized by the establishment of a government life insurance system. The main features of the act of 1861 have been thus summarized:

First. The appointment of money-order offices as places of receipts for deposits.

Second. The affording of government security to depositors upon the payment of their money at the money-order office. A receipt from the branch official, to be binding for ten days, and within that time an acknowledgment from the postmaster general to be forwarded to the depositor.

Third. The allowing of interest at the reduced rate of two and a half per cent. per annum, or a half penny in the pound per month, upon every complete pound.

Fourth. The reception of deposits as low as one shilling, (twenty-four cents United States.)

Fifth. The adoption of the various limitations and privileges of the previously existing savings banks. Thus the deposits in any year, ending December 31, must not exceed £30 (\$150), nor the total deposits £150 (\$750) to any depositor.

In a recent lecture at Hull, Mr. Frank Ives Scudamore, late assistant postmaster general and efficient head of the postal telegraph from the time of its introduction, thus briefly sketched the workings of this new system of savings banks:

"In eleven years more than three million persons have opened accounts in the post office savings banks, and have deposited more than fifty millions sterling (\$250,000,000.) They have withdrawn, as their occasions required, about thirty-four millions, (\$170,000,000;) part of which, as a matter of course, was accrued interest. Nearly one million and a half of persons now have accounts open in the post office banks, and the sum due to them, with the accrued interest, exceeds £18,000,000, (\$90,000,000.) The transactions during the eleven years have been numerous, and individually small. The deposits have averaged about £3 (\$15) each, and the withdrawals about £6 (\$30.) The business has been carried on all over the Kingdom—the system having grown with the growth of the money-order system. And yet, after paying all expenses and making proper allowance for depreciation of the securities in which the money of the depositors has been invested, the surplus of assets over liabilities at the close of last year was £445,000." (\$2,225,000.)

The first and most striking advantage of the postal savings-bank system is that it affords to the depositor a security all but absolute. There is a possibility of fraud, it is true, on the part of individual officials, though the checks and precautions against it appear to be incomparably better than they ever were under the old system; but even if a postmaster absconds with the money in his pocket, for which he has given a receipt to the depositor, the latter has his claim against the government, which must make good to him the amount. If the banking department has sustained any such losses during the past eleven years, they have evidently been more than



made up by the profits of the system, since, as we have seen by Mr. Scudamore's statement, the present surplus amounts to £445,000 (\$2,225,000) on a total of £18,000,000 (\$90,000,000) now on deposit. Thus the system virtually establishes among the depositors a sort of mutual insurance for the amount of each deposit.

Another very great advantage of the system is found in the great number of its offices, by means of which its benefits are carried to many comparatively small places where savings banks would never be established.

From the depositor's point of view, the rate of interest appears low, though it is not far below the usual rates on the best securities in Great Britain. But when the depositor lends at a low rate to the government, he has the satisfaction of knowing that his loan aids in reducing the annual interest charge on the national debt, and in this way lightens to some extent his own share of the taxes. It is at least evident both from the number of depositors and the amount of the deposits that, low as the interest is, the people are nowise reluctant to avail themselves of the benefits of the system. To a nation heavily in debt this is a fact of some importance, since it shows that government savings banks may be used as a means of borrowing considerable sums of money at reduced rates.

There is reason, however, to doubt the policy of making cheap borrowing for the benefit of the government a primary or even a prominent object of the system. The great obstacle to thrifty habits on the part of the poor is found in the lack of opportunities for safely utilizing such small savings as it is possible for them to make. In these days almost all industries are conducted upon so large a scale that for productive purposes small capitals are generally worthless unless combined together in sums of tens or even hundreds of thousands of dollars. When so combined, they become powerful, and yield a liberal percentage of profit; and if a fair pro-

portion of this profit could be assured to each individual contributor—his principal being at the same time adequately guaranteed—there would exist an incentive for saving, such as has never yet been brought to bear upon the working classes of any country; and it is safe to predict that, as a consequence, capital would increase at an unprecedented rate, involving a corresponding increase of the productive power of labor. Should the post office savings-bank system be adopted in this country, it is to be hoped that this object will be kept prominently in view, and that the rate of interest will not be fixed much below the highest point at which the institution can be made self-supporting. To encourage the working-man to save money his small capital should, if possible, be made as profitable to him in proportion to its amount as the rich man's large capital is to him; and it would be contrary to sound public policy for the Government to establish a contrary principle.

IN January, 1872, the New York *Tribune*, repeating its old pledges of Republicanism, induced many of its readers to renew their subscriptions. After this was in a measure accomplished, the paper under its new management out-Heroded Herod in defaming Republicanism and Republicans, and advocating Democracy and honoring Democrats. Now the New York *Tribune*, proclaiming itself as conducted on the same principle as it was by its great founder, seeks again a renewal of subscription from those who believe in Republican principles; but mindful that what has been may be, many have refused to subscribe. Indeed, what may now be expected from that journal is entirely the subject of conjecture, save that we may be assured that it is intended to be of the least possible good to Republicanism. Already it transpires that of the personal conductors of the *Tribune* on the principles advocated by Mr. Greeley, not one holds his doctrine of reasonable protection to American industry.

"IN DEBT."

The late Lord Brougham once said, in one of his great speeches in Parliament, in reference to the enormous amount of the national debt, that "England was bound over to keep the peace in the sum of £800,000,000." If the indebtedness of nations could thus be accepted as a bond of civility, a general peace might be proclaimed to-morrow, and guaranteed throughout the world.

An elaborate table of statistics, compiled from official sources, of the aggregate amount of the national debts of twenty-seven governments, for the years 1862 and 1872, shows that the *increase* of their joint indebtedness during that decade is over \$9,413,000,000. The indebtedness of Great Britain has not been increased, and that country is not included.

The total indebtedness of these nations at the present time is \$16,779,000,000. The German war cost France \$2,870,000,000, and Italy has had to pay \$875,000,000 for her independence and national unity. Turkey and Spain are virtually bankrupt. Mexico and one or two of the South American States fail to pay the interest on their public debts. Brazil is mortgaged to the extent of \$275,000,000, as the price of the conquest of Paraguay. Egypt has run up a debt of \$225,000,000, an increase of \$205,000,000 in ten years. Russia has increased her indebtedness \$700,000,000 in the last decade, mainly, however, in making railroads and other internal improvements. The United States debt is now \$1,975,000,000 more than it was ten years ago, as a result of civil war, but the aggregate debt has been rapidly reduced—a fact that applies to no one of the other civilized powers. England has made a small reduction of her debt, and that country and Holland are the only other nations that have not increased their indebtedness during the last ten years.

With these facts before us, and relying upon Lord Brougham's theory, we might safely calculate upon a perpetual peace henceforth, and look for the early dawning of the millennial period, when the

weapons of war are prophetically promised to be converted to the uses of agriculture. But, unfortunately, history furnishes a different experience. National indebtedness has ever brought with it a long train of evils, and among others an inevitable system of grinding taxation that has repeatedly led to rebellion, civil war, and revolution. Reckless extravagance, and an unwarranted augmentation of the national indebtedness, causing an increase of the tax burdens of the people, has cost many a ruler his throne, and even his head. From the times of the Cæsars down to the days of the three Georges of England, practical illustrations of this fact were numerous.

Even now, with our boasted civilization, nearly all the great powers, and many of the lesser ones, are bordering upon a condition of bankruptcy, and could not meet their obligations if pressed to do so. In not a few of them, under the pressure of these burdens the people, by revolution, are threatening to take the management of public affairs out of the hands of their rulers.

Modern government is a costly machine, and just in proportion as its burdens are increased, are the comforts of the people diminished. Nearly every dollar that a government owes must come, when paid, together with the interest till paid, out of the earnings of the people; and they know, and are restive under the knowledge, that every additional draft upon the proceeds of their toil, over the necessary expenses of an economical administration, is legalized robbery.

These burdens, resulting from costly government—or whatever cause—tend, invariably, to diminish the comforts of the masses, and lead ultimately to poverty, want, and pauperism. National debts are individual burdens, and in proportion as these are increased, they are followed by strikes and other causes of unsteadiness in the industrial balance, resulting in the gradual transfer of the possessions of the poorer property-owners



into the hands of the wealthier classes, who are enabled, through their larger resources, to stand the pressure and take advantage of the crippled condition of their less fortunate neighbors. A public debt is the surest means that can be adopted to reduce the pecuniary condition of the poor and augment the possessions of the rich. In illustration, let us examine the practical effects in those countries most heavily taxed to carry a large national debt.

#### EFFECTS OF THE NATIONAL DEBT IN ENGLAND.

At the close of the protracted war between England and France, the already heavy debt of England was largely augmented. Thousands of the small farmers were obliged to surrender their estates and assume the position of hired servants to the wealthy land-owners, into whose hands their own ten-acre lots had fallen. These changes have been going on down to the present day, and the census returns reveal the alarming fact that the 200,000 landed proprietors in Great Britain, in the days of Adam Smith, have been reduced to 30,000. Mr. Bright said, in 1866, in view of these changes, produced mainly through the pressure of taxation, that "one half of England and Wales was owned by one hundred and fifty persons; while of the lands of Scotland, a half was held by ten or a dozen individuals; and in the former the whole number of proprietors had sunk to less than a sixth of what it had been a century ago." Follow those victims whose property has thus been sacrificed at the shrine of the tax-gatherer, and we next find them employed as day laborers, often on the fields they formerly called their own. Now they are entitled to claim from their landlord, or his tenant, weekly wages barely sufficient for the support of life, even with the additional scanty earnings of the wife and children. The *London Evening Post* thus sums up the facts in the case:

"The Fen district laborers, for example, get from six to fifteen pence (ten to thirty cents) per day, and as they generally sleep in barns, or under ricks and

hedges, and have no lodging to pay for, and wear no clothes 'to speak of,' and are mostly young, and not over healthy people, with limited appetites, their small earnings are supposed to be sufficient to buy their daily food. Respectable farm laborers, with their families, are presumed to be well paid at from six to twenty shillings (one and a half to five dollars) a week for their labor, and they live on these small wages."

But the misery and suffering caused by crushing out the small proprietor and reducing him to a servant does not end here.\* The increased supply of laborers, and the periods between the busy seasons of the year, bring many of these families to actual want, and forces them into the crowded cities in the vain hope of improving their condition. The tendency is toward a total separation of the laborer from the soil and his transfer to the already crowded manufacturing and commercial centers, where he goes to seek employment, and failing in his efforts, as is almost invariably the case, he is forced into the swelling ranks of pauperism. The result is shown by the *London Times* in an article describing the daily scenes in that great city, where the spectacle presents itself of—

"Crowds of men jostling, striving, almost fighting each other for admission,

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\*Since this article was prepared for THE REPUBLIC, the writer, in perusing Kate McKean's condensation of Dr. Carey's "Principles of Social Science," finds his views fully sustained as to the close relation between public debts and pauperism. Dr. Carey says: "The war of 1756, which established the British power in India, had raised the national debt from £72,000,000 to £146,000,000. This new debt made a great addition to the amount required to be seized on its passage from the producer to the consumer, thus augmenting the proportion borne by floating to fixed capital, to the disadvantage of both land and labor. The war of 1793 soon following, the debt again doubled, and now it was that the effect of a sluggish circulation of labor and its products became obvious in the vast increase of pauperism, the scarcity of food, and the consolidation of the land. As a necessary consequence the little proprietor disappears and the hired laborer takes his place, the trader and the annuitant becoming more and more masters of those who need to sell their labor. Inequality grows daily, the separation between the highest and lowest portions of society becoming more complete as land becomes more and more consolidated, and more and more burthened with mortgages, entails and settlements."—Page 386.



not to see a favorite actor, or hear a popular preacher, or to witness a prize fight or rat bait, but to gain the privilege of breaking hard stones in a cold, muddy yard attached to the parish work-house, for the reward of three pennies (5 cents) and a loaf of bread."

Follow these farmless and homeless men and their families into the shades of night and the picture of actual life will be more complete. The London *Saturday Review* is good authority, and referring to the effects of the instability and suffering of society thus exhibited, it says:

"London street contains no less than 250 families, no one of which, however numerous, occupies, as a rule, more than one room. Father, mother, and it may be six or seven children, somehow contrive to sleep in one bed; and in the absence of sheets and blankets, which are being taken care of by the pawnbroker, probably find some compensation for the discomfort of overcrowding in the luxury of warmth—a luxury all the more prized from the difficulty, in cold weather, of procuring it anywhere but in bed."

England is carrying a public debt amounting to \$3,706,000,000, the largest national debt in the world. The interest of this debt must be met annually by taxation, in addition to the taxes necessary to support the royal family, an expensive government, and an overgrown pension roll of retired functionaries. This requires an annual draft upon the people for \$390,000,000, with little or no hope of a possible reduction of the amount in the future to any considerable extent, while the masses are daily becoming less able to bear their pro rata of the enormous burthen. As an inevitable result pauperism is on the increase. The number of people relieved in England in January, 1866, was 920,344. Three years later, in January, 1869, the number had increased to 1,039,459; in view of which fact, Lord Hamilton said in the British Parliament: "It is impossible to consult the sad statements which indicate a constant increase of misery, for three years past, without being visibly alarmed for the future." His alarm was not without foundation, for the number of paupers supported, in

whole or in part, by the government, has nearly doubled since those fears were expressed in 1869; while those among the working classes, who have not reached that condition, are barely able, under a system of most rigid economy and self-denial, to support themselves and their families.

#### EFFECTS OF NATIONAL DEBTS ON THE CONTINENT.

Without troubling the reader with statistical details in support of the fact, it may be stated in general terms that a similar condition of affairs prevails in France and pretty generally over the Continent of Europe, with this experience, that where the public debt and consequent tax burdens are heaviest, the suffering from poverty is invariably more extensive and severe. A recent "Commission on Workingmen's Dwellings in Vienna" caused a minute investigation to be made into the sanitary condition of the people of that city. The report shows an appalling state of affairs. Here is a single paragraph:

"In four small rooms of a house in the Briggittenau, (a suburb of Vienna,) the largest room measuring twelve by ten feet, there were found seventeen families, numbering together ninety-two persons. They slept, cooked, washed, and lived in these four rooms, and these were their sole habitation. In another house in the same street fifty-seven persons, of all ages and both sexes, inhabited three small 'cabinets' and one room fourteen feet by nine feet. Only two of the 'cabinets' had windows, and these were only two feet high. In another, the worst instance of all, one hundred and thirty-three, of different sexes, and all ages, were crowded into six rooms. Three children were suffering from small-pox in one of these rooms, and a woman, who had been confined during the night in the presence of twelve or fifteen men, was lying dead on a shelf."

It is not claimed that this accumulation of poverty and human degradation is wholly the result of costly and bad government, but it is not necessary to go beyond these causes to find the main source of nearly all the pauperism in Europe, or wherever it is found to exist among civilized people to any considerable extent.

THE PUBLIC DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES.

In the United States the recently accumulated national debt is not yet felt so severely by the masses as in Europe, for two reasons: First, the taxes are so arranged as to fall mainly upon the more wealthy portion of the communities; and second, labor is better paid here than in any other portion of the world, so that the tax bill can generally be paid without causing distress in the family. We have no guarantee, however, of a continuance of those favorable conditions. The advocates of free-trade are laying their plans deep and broad to defeat, if possible, the tariff from which our resources are mainly derived; and if their policy should ever prevail and be forced upon the Government, our sources of revenue will be reduced, the country flooded with foreign manufactures, and wages lowered, thus reducing our ability to carry a heavy public debt to a level with that of European nations, with an inevitable tendency of the laboring classes to poverty and distress. If history repeats itself, this is no idle theory. A public debt that the people cannot reduce annually will very soon reduce the people; and if our law-makers and rulers propose to avoid the financial errors of other nations they will direct legislation so as to maintain the most rigid economy in public affairs until the last dollar of our national debt is paid. The annual reduction of the public debt cannot with safety be permitted to fall below \$75,000,000 a year. It ought to have been continued at \$100,000,000. There is no basis for the argument that the public debt should be left for our successors to pay. It is not the legacy that patriotism would suggest, and no true friend of the American Republic will accede to a proposition to perpetuate or prolong the public debt one day beyond the period absolutely necessary to secure its payment. The Government of the United States may stop the reduction of the public debt, yet the people's money will continue to be absorbed to the extent of \$100,000,000 a year in the payment of in-

terest on the debt. In this way the people will have the pleasure of paying the amount of the debt in interest alone once in every sixteen years, while the principal of the debt will remain the same.

It is evident, then, that the dominant impulse of every patriotic statesman should be to secure and maintain a steady reduction of the public debt. No increase of salaries is required; none should be permitted in any department of the Government; and the most rigid economy should be practised in the annual appropriations and expenditures. There are not less than \$40,000,000 involved in the construction of public buildings now going up in different parts of the country, nearly all of which might wisely have been dispensed with until after a return to specie payments. Other appropriations have been made by the last Congress, involving some millions of dollars in the aggregate, which a strict regard to the public interests would have prevented.

If republicanism means anything it is a rigid economy in the management of the people's money gathered into the public treasury, a scrupulous care not to incur a public debt when it can be avoided, and a patriotic determination when a debt becomes imperative to liquidate it as rapidly as possible consistent with the best interests of the people.

STATE INDEBTEDNESS.

There is another class of debts which are equally repugnant to a spirit of true republicanism, but which have been permitted to accumulate to an alarming extent in the United States. We refer to State debts. With some few exceptions, each State in the Union is now carrying a debt of from ten to fifty millions of dollars, the interest on which is annually drawn from the pockets of the people. These obligations are even more burdensome than a national debt, because both the principal and the interest must ultimately be drawn wholly from the pockets of the people of the State, while the General Government has other sources, in the tariff and in the sales of public lands, from which to draw a por-



tion of its revenues. When a State incurs a debt it involves every man within its limits, and the people are bound for its payment until every dollar of it is discharged out of their own earnings.

#### MUNICIPAL DEBTS.

Not less objectionable is the municipal or city debt, now so common, and in some cases so large as to amount to twenty-five, fifty, and in one case to over one hundred millions of dollars. The magnitude of these obligations is really alarming. The effects upon the welfare of the communities involved are of a most serious nature. Families who are struggling, by the most rigid economy, to secure a home that they can call their own, are not unfrequently compelled to sell their house and lot because of inability to pay the taxes levied upon the same. This picture, unfortunately for the peace of society, is not imaginary, and if the present reckless policy is not speedily checked pauperism cannot fail to increase rapidly in our city communities.

Add to the municipal tax that of the State, and to the State the Federal tax, and we find ourselves just now not very far behind the most heavily taxed people in the world. The only redeeming feature in our case is the fact that our people are yet better able than those of most of the Great Powers to carry those onerous burdens.

Prudence, however, would dictate a different policy in the management of Federal, State, and municipal affairs; and the sooner its warning voice is heeded the better it will be for our people at home and the national credit abroad, and for the stability and perpetuity of the national life and existence.

These suggestions are thrown out not for the purpose of creating unnecessary alarm, but with the view of directing public attention to a subject of paramount importance to every individual. The condition of Europe to-day, as verified by the quotations from credible authorities, should be accepted as a warning. One of the distinctive features of monarchy is a propensity to crush the

people under financial burdens; that of republicanism should be not only freedom of thought and of spirit, but freedom from municipal, State, and national debts and their consequences

NO OFFICER OF THE ARMY CAN HOLD A CIVIL OFFICE.—The following correspondence explains itself:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 24, 1873.

*To the Honorable the Attorney General:*

SIR: Hon. W. W. Belknap, Secretary of War, expecting to be absent a few weeks, has requested me to authorize and direct William T. Sherman, General of the Army of the United States, to perform the duties of Secretary of War during such absence. Please advise me whether such an appointment would be legal.

Your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,  
WASHINGTON, March 24, 1873.

*To the President:*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of to-day, in which you submit for my official opinion the question as to whether or not William T. Sherman, General of the Army of the United States, can be authorized to perform the duties of Secretary of War during the temporary absence of that officer.

Section 18 of the act making appropriations for the support of the army for the year ending June 30, 1871, and for other purposes, approved July 15, 1870, (16 U. S. Stat., p. 319,) is as follows: "That it shall not be lawful for any officer of the Army of the United States on the active list to hold any civil office, whether by election or appointment, and any such officer accepting or exercising the functions of a civil office shall at once cease to be an officer of the army, and his commission shall be vacated thereby."

General Sherman is on the active list of the Army, and the office of Secretary of War is a civil office. He cannot, therefore, be appointed to discharge the duties of that office, nor can he exercise its functions without ceasing to be an officer of the Army of the United States.

I am, therefore, of the opinion that General Sherman cannot act as Secretary of War without vacating his commission as General of the Army.

Very respectfully,

GEORGE H. WILLIAMS,  
*Attorney General.*

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.—No name is more familiar to the present generation of Americans than that placed at the head of this article.

The man who gave himself this name, and has made it honorable on the page of American history, is now far on in life. He stands six feet or more, broad-shouldered and well-formed; his face pale-yellow, and his features striking in every part; his hair, still thick and bushy, is blanched by the frosts of time and toil.

This man has come up from the lowest depths. He was born a slave on one of the plantations of Maryland. His mother was a Mandingo—a proud race with European features, wavy hair, erect and stately forms, instinct with intelligence and sensibility, vigorous and brave. His father was a white man, whom he never knew. In a nameless hovel this child of their intercourse first saw the light, and there, herded with hundreds of others as abject as himself, he passed the first years of life. Torn from his mother as soon as he was born, she never saw him a half dozen times. She was worked on a field twelve miles away. She could only visit him at night—walking this distance to hold him in her arms for an hour, and then walking back to begin her morning task at four o'clock. And yet she did this more than once, though she had nothing to bring him but her love. She could furnish neither raiment, nor food, nor bed; she could not even mend or wash the little tow shirt which was his only garment.

In a brief space she ceased to come at all—she was broken and dying—she passed away to the invisible realm!

The boy grew on. He saw the pains of slavery on every hand. Intelligent and thoughtful, he began to revolve the bitter question, *why am I a slave?* When ten years old, he was sent to Baltimore to be a house servant with Mrs. Sophia Auld. This kind-hearted woman began to teach him his letters. He made rapid progress, and she was proud of her charge. She was going to make him proficient, at least, in reading *The Bible*.

The husband found it out and immediately interposed. But the *boy* had tasted enough to create desires that nothing could repress. With a spelling book in his bosom, he pursued his studies. At length he made money enough to purchase a "Columbian Orator." In this volume he found "the fanaticism of liberty." Here was the immortal language of the Declaration of our Independence; here was one of the masterly speeches of Sheridan. He could resist it no longer. *He ran away!* The story of his escape has been recently and freshly told. He came to New Bedford, on Buzzards' Bay, in old Massachusetts. The air was full of liberty, and he exulted. He found work and kept his own wages. He "sawed wood, dug cellars, shoveled coal, rolled oil-casks on the wharves;" he worked "in candle works and brass foundries," and was living in a new world. He began to hear of Garrison, and subscribed for the "Liberator."

He read what books he could reach—among them Scott's "Lady of the Lake." Charmed in the character of the noble maid, he cast away the name of his former bondage and henceforth called himself "Frederick Douglass"—a name whose renown will long linger among men.

It was here that he married and began to plant a family of his own. He mingled with the colored people that had gathered under the northern stars. He ventured to speak in their meetings, and the fire of his eloquence kindled to a flame. In 1841 a great convention assembled at Nantucket; Douglass appeared and addressed the throng. From that time his course was upward. He was immediately employed as an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and thus his long career as the champion of freedom for his race began. Though in danger of recapture, he lectured everywhere in the North. He went to England, where his course was an ovation. There he found friends who gave the funds (£150) to purchase the bond of his liberty. Returning to America, he settled in Rochester, Western New York, and es-



tablished his "paper," which became a power in the cause to which he had devoted his life.

He saw the rising storm of civil war, which the madness of slavery finally brought on. He heard the first thunders of that awful tempest, and sent two of his sons into the strife, who bore themselves bravely till the day was won.

He was the personal friend of Lincoln, and when Johnson succeeded to the White House, Douglass came to plead with him for those civil rights of the black men which were still withheld. His speech on that occasion will live in the story of those days. As he and his associates turned away he said, "Mr. President, we will take our appeal to the people." It was a noble answer to the sophism with which the delegation had been mocked. It was in the winter of 1866; Douglass remained in the city, and was invited to deliver his famous lecture on the "Assassination of President Lincoln." He stood on the platform of the old First Presbyterian Church, then the only place in the city where he could speak unmolested, and swayed the vast and crowded audience with Websterian power. The only allusion to the course of President Johnson which escaped him was a climax of one of his masterly passages, which thrilled every heart when he said, "Had Mr. Lincoln lived he would have been the friend and counselor of the black man. He would not have begun by playing the *role* of Moses and ended by playing the *role* of Pharaoh."

Mr. Douglass was subsequently designated to accompany the famous commission to Santo Domingo at the instance of President Grant, and when he returned he added the weight of his great influence to the views of the commissioners, and in support of the patriotic sentiments and efforts of the Administration.

He stands to-day among his people, and among all Americans, one of the foremost men. In the new arrangements for the Presidential term before us he deserves some recognition commensurate with his great abilities and his distinguished labors.

POLITICAL INFORMATION NEEDED.—Among the most thorough and creditable Government publications, which have been issued during the present year, is the "Report of the Board of Civil Service Examiners for the Treasury Department." The Report is signed by Messrs. J. H. Saville, the chief clerk of the Treasury Department; E. O. Graves, the chief clerk of the Treasurer's Bureau, and S. I. Kimball, chief of the Revenue Marine Division, and contains many valuable suggestions, to which we expect to call attention from time to time. Annexed is a report from Silas W. Burt, who is chairman of the Civil Service Examining Board of Appeal for New York, from which we reproduce the following extract:

"RESULTS OF EXAMINATIONS.—The examinations revealed certain defects in the education of the average American citizen, which were a source of surprise and mortification. The ignorance in regard to the geography, history, and government of the United States displayed by very many of those examined was not only very great but ludicrous. That, in a country proud of its educational advantages, whose citizens are politically sovereigns, there should exist among apparently intelligent persons an ignorance concerning the simplest matters of the Government, history, and geography of their native land, is certainly very humiliating to our national pride, and indicates great defects in our methods of education, which should be repaired. It also suggests that the Constitution of the United States should be taught, or read with comments, in all our schools. It is noticeable that candidates born and educated in Germany were much more conversant with these important domestic subjects than the majority of native candidates."

One hundred and fifty-seven candidates were examined for clerkships or similar positions, and forty-six received appointments. The ignorance concerning political affairs, complained of by Mr. Burt, is the chief cause of the bad local government of New York city; and in precisely the same proportion as the masses in other localities are politically uninformed, the men who represent them are unfit law-givers.

It might, at first sight, be supposed that the rapidly recurring political campaigns, and the political metropolitan press, would dispel this ignorance, but the truth is that these agencies contribute only in rare instances to the advancement of political science. A stump speech is, in fact, frequently composed of elements that tend to stultify and debase the public mind; and an analysis will give substantially the following results:

Self-glorification and personal matter.....	25 per cent.
Abuse of the opposite party.	25 per cent.
Anecdotes and stories.....	25 per cent.
Glorification of particular candidates. ....	20 per cent.
Information about Governmental affairs .....	5 per cent.

We appeal with confidence to all men of experience in political affairs for a confirmation in substance of the above analysis, for it is exceedingly rare to hear public affairs discussed from a purely impersonal and statesmanlike standpoint. The composition of a speech of political value requires not merely careful thought, experience, and study, but also an adequate library, and, therefore, it is rarely that we hear an instructive political argument.

The city daily press is even worse. We have, for instance, before us an entire week's issue of the *New York Tribune*, a journal of great pretensions. These six papers contain no less than thirty political editorials, yet there is not one article in the whole series which is worthy of reproduction, or which advances a single affirmative political idea. Ridicule, denunciation, misrepresentation, and negative criticism are its whole stock in trade; and it is our deliberate conviction that the public conscience is being lowered and public sentiment debased by the perusal of articles like these.

We earnestly appeal to the thoughtful and patriotic men of all parties to weigh carefully the importance of an impersonal and thorough discussion of governmental affairs. The publication of **THE REPUBLIC** is a step in this direc-

tion. Its chief efforts will be to give such explicit accounts of the workings of our Government that local politicians will be able to compose speeches of interest and power, so that our country may enjoy the benefits of a higher political education.

Greater purity in our public men is not obtained by a change of parties. Nearly the whole of the people of the United States already belong to one or the other of the two great parties, and if they do not work well it is owing to the incapacity and indifference of the general public, and not to the fact that the party is called by a particular name. The American Republic has at this time no better friends than those who make sacrifices to secure the political education of the masses.

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**LIVING WITHIN ONE'S MEANS.**—The remarks of Senator Chandler upon the proposition recently pending in Congress to increase the salaries of members, with his replies to the questions put to him, discover the real gist of the whole question. He announced the only wise and proper policy for all persons who propose to be honest in their mode of living. It is a principle which has been attested by the universal experience and approved by the soundest judgment of mankind. The question as to what is a competent sum for the maintenance of an individual is one that is wholly relative and cannot be determined by consulting the desires of indulgence. A man who cannot live on five thousand dollars, for the very same reason might not be able to live on fifty thousand.

The idea which seems to be entertained by some honorable gentlemen that from the simple accident of their being chosen to a seat in Congress, they must live like nabobs, whether they have the means to do it or not; and that if they have not the means themselves, they ought to be furnished with them out of the public treasury, seems to be a step in advance of anything we have yet had on the subject of political econ-



omy in this country. Now it seems to us that this is an entirely false principle of judgment; that it is a perversion of the very germs of our republican simplicity. Members of Congress are not chosen for the purpose of vieing with each other in extravagance of display and high living. They are chosen to do the legislative business of the country, and the principle on which they are compensated should be not a principle of social emulation, or of pageantry, or parade, but one of an entirely business character, which will secure to them a fair and just remuneration for labors performed, time spent, and services rendered.

This can only be determined upon the principle of supply and demand, just as any other class of labor or service is estimated.

It may be said, however, that something is due to the dignity of official position, and that on this account the high officers of the Government ought not to be placed on the same footing with ordinary kinds of labor. Now, it is true that there is dignity and great responsibility in these offices, and that it will be a sad day for the Republic when there shall be no longer felt for them a sincere respect in the popular heart. But the very moment that these offices become mercenary; the very moment they are made the means of affluence and indulgence, from that moment they will be regarded no longer in the light of probity and honor, but they will begin to be sought simply for the profits arising from their emoluments, while the primary design of their institution will become of secondary or perhaps of no importance. Thus the very framework of our Government will become simply an engine for enriching the few at the expense of the many.

Now there is among us a powerful tendency to this evil. Very few are the conspicuous examples of republican virtue in this respect. Very few are the men in public life among us who have the moral courage to live within their means when those means do not enable

them to emulate the hospitality or the high estate of others who possess larger resources and more commanding fortunes. There is, consequently, a continual struggle and scramble on the part of those who have not this munificence of wealth by some means or other to acquire it. The aspiration to opulence becomes insatiable, and men grow reckless as to the methods by which it is to be gratified.

There is, as it seems to us, but one doctrine that can cover this whole subject, and that is the doctrine of consistency—the doctrine of self-justice. Let no man dare to lay upon himself an exaction which he can not meet; let no man place himself in the way of temptation which he can not resist. If a member of Congress finds that he can not justly and fairly afford to bear the burden of duty which the office imposes, if he can not justly and fairly meet the proper expenses of the position, let him resign the office and go into some business or avocation where the demands upon him will be less imperative and less onerous.

But on the other hand, there is a duty of the people to deal justly by their representatives in office. It belongs to the people in their primary meetings to canvass all questions of this nature, and to inform themselves, so that they may have an intelligent conception of what is right in the premises. And we hold that the proposal for any increase of salary or compensation for official services of their representatives should come first from the people themselves. But, if the people are ignorant, or selfish, or negligent in this matter, what can they expect but to wake up some day, when it is too late, to find that a mischief has been done which is without reparation?

We, therefore, hold that the principle fault is with the people themselves, and, as one of the Senators remarked, in the course of the debate upon this subject, that "they should not be led into temptation." It is very true that oftentimes the people place their public servants

under fire, so to speak, without discretion, and then are filled with surprise at the result. The fact is, that the science of government has yet to be more thoroughly studied, and more clearly understood; and that the lesson with which we began this article has need to be more widely diffused, and more potent in its influence in every portion of society.

A WORD ABOUT STATESMANSHIP.—Statesmanship has been defined as “the qualities and functions of the statesman.”

And “statesman” is described as “one versed or employed in public affairs, or in the arts of government—a politician” in the true sense.

Illustrating this idea, Hare is quoted as saying: “A statesman, we are told, should follow public opinion—doubtless as a coachman follows his horses, having a firm hold on the reins and guiding them.”

Pope, too, fitly says:—

“Statesman, yet friend to truth, of soul sincere;  
In action faithful, and in honor clear;  
Who broke no promise, served no private end,  
Who gained no title and who lost no friend.”

This would be a man the people could safely trust; only by such men can the state or nation be preserved.

For in whatever office in the municipality, or commonwealth, or nation the man may be chosen to serve the people, he needs the qualities here enumerated by the poet. The people, in giving up that unmodified democracy in which they assemble together and settle all questions directly for themselves, and adopting the principles of representation necessary in carrying on government, as territory and population increase, must be sure the representatives of their choice are able and willing to do the duties devolved upon them.

The old-fashioned town-meeting, common in some States of the Union, is a most admirable school for statesmanship and citizenship. There all questions relating to the town are brought directly before the voters for their determination. They say, by direct vote, what

moneys shall be raised and how expended; what roads shall be built and what schools taught; and what other measures of general welfare undertaken. Yet these town meetings should not be mistaken as illustrations of simple and pure democracy; for these meetings must act in accordance with the Constitution of the nation and laws enacted by the commonwealth.

Unfortunately, in closely scrutinizing the actions of towns, we find many violations of sound principles of statesmanship, and too often malfeasance, on the part of the officers chosen. And looking for the cause, we are obliged to meet the fact that many of the best citizens have absented themselves. So far as benefit to the town from their wisdom is concerned, they might as well be in Kamtschatka.

In this inaction, ignorance, incompetency, evil designs or corruption find scope for exercise.

Behind even these simple forms of political action, there is also the power of the caucus, from which statesmanship is too often excluded and the entire control surrendered to schemes or partisanship, not of principles, but of personal ambition. One, or a few, by force of money or prejudice, may thus direct the action of the caucus, and too often of the party and commonwealth and nation, and defeat the best men and measures.

Therefore, without the steps of a prolonged discussion, we catch a glimpse of the relation in a republic of statesmanship and citizenship. Is not the conclusion correct, if citizens will do their duty, they may be sure of statesmanship in the officers they choose to make, or administer the laws, or to adjudicate the questions which arise under them?

How much good intention, ability, and correct information are necessary to this result it is not our purpose to estimate. Nor can we here discuss the methods or means by which they shall be made universal, and demagoguism, and villiany, and incompetency banished from office in the Republic.



MISCELLANEOUS.

**PUBLICITY IN THE HALLS OF CONGRESS.**—One of the great evils growing out of the method of doing business in Congress is the *secrecy* attendant on the deliberations and actions of Congressional committees. We believe it would be a protection, both to Congressmen and to the public, if all the doors were thrown open, and free admission were given to any who might wish to ascertain the nature of the business thus transacted. There ought to be nothing in the Congressional committee-room which will not bear the open light of day; and the satisfaction of knowing, or of being able to know, just what is going on would be very great to the people.

It would likewise obviate all occasion for rash and unfounded suspicion. It would destroy the opportunity for any improper combination as to pending measures which might originate in concealment, but which would never be able to find birth under the public gaze, and so the weakness of men would be fortified by the very circumstances of their action, and even where, through mistake or misapprehension, there had been the inception of mischief, its full and final consequences could be averted.

If it be said, in reply to these suggestions, that the whole series of legislative precedent and practice is the other way, our answer is, that the sooner a bad precedent or practice is abandoned the better.

If it be said that it would be a hindrance to the public business, and a fatal embarrassment to the deliberations of those who have charge of the different branches of the affairs of legislation, we answer that open dealing is no more likely to be hindered in the special or standing committee rooms than those in the room of the Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union.

If it be said that there are private affairs which ought not to be exposed to the publicity suggested, our reply is that nothing which pertains to the legislation of the country can be of any such private

nature; and that if such private matters do exist, the law-makers of the land should have nothing to do with them in their legislative capacity.

Nor will it be difficult to suppress those matters which have obviously no relation to, or connection with, the legitimate subjects of legislation, while experience will not be long in showing where the dividing line should be drawn and what should be the disposition of details.

In connection with this subject, there is another suggestion: In view of the large increase in the number of members, why may not the important committees be correspondingly increased as to members, and so constituted that those members shall be from as many different sections of the country as is practicable. In this way there would be another safeguard thrown around the action of all Congressional committees, and a very appreciable improvement in the mode of doing business would be attained.

That some measures, if not those indicated above, are requisite to meet the conditions of Congressional action, and to relieve both that body and the country from the growing evils of the times, is quite obvious. These reflections are thrown out with a view of eliciting comment and drawing the attention of the press to the very important question which is thus presented, and which deserves examination.

**PROTESTING GREENBACKS.**—Wallace P. Groom came to Washington all the way from New York to go through the farce of presenting in person, and subsequently by notary public, a hundred-dollar bill for redemption in gold or bonds. It would be charitable to suppose that he is simply insane, but the more probable assumption is, that it is a cheap advertising dodge for an unread paper in New York city—where a new crop springs up from year to year.

Mr. Groom knew perfectly well, before he went on this fool's errand, that the

Secretary of the Treasury and the Treasurer of the United States can only make payments in accordance with the law; that they are simply the custodians of the public funds, having no discretion whatever, and that his protest and remonstrance should have been addressed to Congress before it adjourned. This deliberate delay until Congress had departed, and the foolish exhibition of protesting notes that had no endorser, as soon as the new Secretary is installed, are feeble imitations of the announcement that "Crummels is not a Prussian," and an abortive effort to obtain a gratuitous advertisement from the press.

If Mr. Groom were to advocate the adoption of measures to bring greenbacks to par, by their redemption in gold or interest-bearing bonds, he would have the sympathy of an intelligent public. But he does nothing of the kind. He and a few utterly impracticable, if not insane, followers are determined to reduce the value of our currency to the price of waste paper; and here is the nostrum, in his own language: "The process is very simple. Let the Government coin, *i. e.*, stamp or print money of paper, the promise being *only* that such money shall be a legal tender for *all* dues, both public and private, and exchangeable at the option of the holder with Government bonds bearing a *fixed* rate of interest, say three and sixty-five one-hundredths per cent. per annum—one cent per day on one hundred dollars—said bonds being payable on demand, including interest in the same currency."

In other words, Mr. Groom wants a paper currency, unlimited in quantity, convertible into a paper bond, which bond shall be also redeemable in paper, and bring a certain interest, (3.65 per cent.) also payable in paper.

Well, if this is to be our currency, we hope the Government will issue nothing less than million-dollar bills, for it costs no more to print a million on a piece of paper than one dollar; and then we shall all be millionnaires. As long as the paper holds out, we shall have an abundance

of money; but suppose the paper-maker should refuse to exchange his clean, white paper for the soiled stuff with a million of dollars printed on it—what then? There seems to be a hitch in this new machine of perpetual motion, and the creation of unlimited wealth by means of printed pieces of paper.

A dollar means a certain quantity of gold—precisely as a pound weight means a certain number of ounces—but if you declare that a dollar shall be an imaginary quantity, you reduce the value which it conveys to the intrinsic value of the paper upon which it is printed—six cents per pound.

The revival of this exploded theory is too silly to be dangerous, and Mr. Groom may find that the notoriety he courts is not an enviable one; and that the subscription list of his paper will only increase with rapidity when such million-dollar bills are more plentiful than bronze cents.

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GENERAL BUTLER'S INDEMNITY.—It is stated that General Butler, who recently manœuvred the salary business in the House, has calculated the individual loss to each person of the population resulting from the amount just taken out of the Treasury for back pay to members of Congress, and he finds it amounts to three cents apiece. This sum he encloses to an indignant constituent to indemnify him for his share in such loss. This may be all very witty in the General, but does it really place him in any more enviable light? The language of such a performance is simply this: A man takes the money belonging to several persons and makes off with it. After getting at a safe distance, he turns around and holds parley with his victims thus: Now, I have got your money, and I advise you to make no fuss about it; but if there are any of you so stupid as to make a fuss, I will calculate his share of the aggregate and return it; that which belongs to those of you who make no fuss I intend to keep myself. And this is the attitude of one of the American legislators of the nineteenth century.



**WHOM THE GODS SEEK TO DESTROY THEY FIRST MAKE MAD.**—We are forcibly reminded of this popular saw, handed down from Grecian antiquity, by the contemplated railroad strike. It appears that the railways are receiving now nearly seven millions of dollars annually for carrying the mails, and that a moderate increase was contemplated in the new postal laws; but they have determined to stop carrying the mails in such a manner as will best accommodate the public, after the first of April, unless the Government should pay them no less than thirty millions of dollars per annum; and even if this extortionate demand should be complied with, it would probably be only the basis to further impositions.

This is a good time for strikes—then let them strike by all means. The slaveholders might have remained in possession of their slaves for an entire generation longer if they had not forced on the war. And thus, although the agitation against railway tyranny is most earnest throughout the country, and the farmers, who constitute the most intelligent and resolute portion of our population, are combining as one man to correct these abuses, the railways, by a judicious and conciliatory course and a lavish use of money, might have defied the popular will for many years. But this contemplated forcing of an issue with the Government at this time of excitement and discontent—which have manifested themselves by mass-meetings, not engineered by leaders, but emanating from the people themselves—is perfect madness, leading to speedy destruction.

The Congress of the United States has the right of eminent domain. It can condemn all the railways for public uses—to carry the mails of the United States—and appoint arbitrators to adjust the amounts due to the stockholders. It has cost the nation five thousand millions of dollars to strike the fetters from three millions of slaves; it may take that much more to emancipate forty millions of freemen from the extortions of monopolies; but whenever the nation has made

up its mind that it must be done, their hour has come.

There can be no objection to a reasonable increase from time to time for mail service, but we are of the opinion that the Government pays more for the use of half a car than is paid either by freight, express, or passengers for the same space the year round.

**IT CAN'T BE DONE.**—The retirement of Hon. George S. Boutwell from the Treasury has been the occasion of editorial remarks on the part of the entire Republican press of the country. Having personally examined upwards of four hundred exchanges, comprising the leading weekly journals from every State in the Union, it gives us pleasure to testify that the opinion of the press has been most appreciative and eulogistic both of the Secretary's personal character and his financial policy.

Though the confidence of the people has been severely tested by the faithlessness of several leading public men, they have felt the consolation that at least the Treasury, the most important branch of the Government, has been under the control of an incorruptible and faithful Secretary.

We notice that combinations are forming in New York City to embarrass Judge Richardson, who is not as widely known as his illustrious predecessor, but it would be a sad day for the country and the Republican party if the Treasury were brought under the control of New York operators. These men need not lay the flattering unction to their souls that, even if Judge Richardson should retire, their turn would come next. The West would insist with a unanimous voice that a man identified with its interests should take his place. We presume they would not care to exchange Mr. Richardson for E. B. Washburne, or some other anti-monopoly champion, but this is the tendency of the times.

The President has had the most ample testimony that the masses of the people are perfectly satisfied, both with his

Administration and his Cabinet, and he is by far too wise a statesman to try experiments.

The manœuvres of the New York City money cliques are perfectly understood, and their schemes have not the slightest chance of success.

Mr. Richardson is a gentleman of rare abilities, an excellent lawyer, ripe scholar, fertile organizer, and faithful officer, and a few months of trial will enable him to give proof to the entire nation that the confidence reposed in his ability and integrity has been well bestowed. We venture the prediction that his career will be one of those rare instances where the performance is greater than the promise.

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POWER OF THE PRESS.—For good or evil the press of the country wields a mighty power. It shapes and controls public sentiment by a silent influence, always at work. A good paper is like the pure air—it imparts health and purity wherever it goes. A bad paper is like the noxious gas that steals unnoticed from the earth, carrying its pestilential poison to corrupt and destroy whole communities. Yet good men are to be found who permit bad papers to enter their household to poison the minds of their children. The seeds of depravity are scattered by the evil hand, and no effort is made to prevent it. Parents may not approve the sentiments uttered by these papers, but many appear insensible to their bad effects, and neglect to apply the correction. While they are careful to provide for the physical growth of their children, they neglect their moral training. They provide fresh air and wholesome food for the body, yet allow the mind to feed upon the poisonous elements of a corrupting literature.

This should be stopped at once. The paper that contains immoral sentiments should be as carefully excluded from the family circle as if it came from the pest-house, stamped with certain contagion and death. A rigid exclusion of these organs of wickedness from the decent families in our land, would confine them

within limits where their influence would soon be lost. They might still tend to encourage vice, but their power to corrupt and destroy would be gone forever. Every good citizen should have at least one family paper. It should be chosen from among the many as a friend would be, or a daily companion. Its tone should be elevated; its sentiments pure; its integrity unquestioned. With such a silent companion in your family, you can feel confident that good impressions are being formed in the minds of your children. These impressions may not be noticed in a day, or year, but insensibly they will mould the character that is to lead the youth through the temptations of early manhood, protect and advance him through active life, and sustain him in honorable old age.

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IS CIVILIZATION LOSING GROUND?—Human perfection is an impossibility. If we attain perfection we cease to be human. When the soul parts company with the body we may catch our first glimpse of perfection, but as long as they keep together on this sin-furrowed earth we must put up with imperfections of ourselves and others, and do our best to make the world better for our having lived in it. We are inclined to believe that the world is about as good as it ever was. Many good souls, who pick out the murder items in the papers of the day, are led to think that human civilization has taken the back track, and that instead of getting better in its morals the whole world is tending toward universal depravity. We are forced to disagree with these individuals. We admit that we hear more of crimes and criminals than in years gone by, but this don't prove that more crime actually exists. If we stop reading the papers we shall hear but little of crime; yet our failure to hear of it will not drive it from existence. If the papers stop filling their columns with murder items, it will not lessen the number of murders, but it will change the impression of the public concerning their frequency. The facilities possessed by the press of to-day to



gather news from all quarters of the earth; and a morbid desire to chronicle items of crime account for the popular impression that crime is on the increase. We hold to the belief that the world instead of being worse in its morals is a trifle better than it has been in the past. Our brethren of the Press can do much toward continued improvement. If instead of ransacking their exchanges for the items that illustrate human vices they will but look for items illustrative of human virtue, they will tend to create a purer public sentiment than now exists. Such a course may not lessen crime, but it will make us less familiar with its disgusting details, and give us, if not a more truthful, at least a more hopeful view of advancing civilization.

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INDIVIDUALS die, but principles live forever! A party may bury a host of leaders, yet if it adheres to principle its strength remains unimpaired. The principles of justice underlie the Republican party. They forced it into being; they sustained it through unequal conflict; they upheld it in the hour of supreme trial. The people endorsed it because it proclaimed freedom as the birthright of man, and because they saw in it the only power that could overthrow the despotism of human slavery and the corrupt party that stood between it and outraged liberty: It accomplished what it set out to do. The institution of slavery is no more. The chattels of yesterday have been transformed into the freemen of today. The Democratic party exists only in the traditions of the past. A new era has dawned upon American civilization. This glorious work has been the work of the people. They have recognized and followed leaders as long as those leaders showed devotion to the principles of the party. They abandoned them when they found them untrue to the trust confided in them. The leaders of the past are not the leaders of the present. A few have survived the temptations and trials of years, but the many have either fallen in honorable service, or been left behind

because they were found unworthy to lead the advance. Still the party lives, because its principles are as pure and strong as ever. That bad men have crept into its ranks and worn its honors cannot be denied, but when discovered they have been driven from power as unworthy of trust. We have an abiding faith in the Republican party. As long as the people of the nation endorse the principles of justice, the party will live and exert a controlling influence on national affairs.

From time to time we shall hear of official corruption, but in the future, as in the past, the Republican party will neither justify nor defend it. It has already given abundant evidence of its intention to ferret out and punish rascality wherever found. The party that keeps a vigilant eye upon its own members, that is quick to expose the short comings of its own leaders, that has set its face against corruption in whatever form it appears, is a safe party to trust. It is too early to begin another campaign, but we warn our Democratic friends not to take much stock in the Liberal machine that is being constructed to smash the glorious old party of freedom.

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THERE are more miles of railroad in the United States than in all the nations of Europe combined. Our completed line would reach 70,178 miles, with an additional 43,000 in process of building. In all Europe there is less than 65,000 miles of railroad. When we consider that in 1848 we had between five and six thousand miles of completed road, we can form an idea of the progress we have made in the building of railroads during the past twenty-five years. The amount of money, or its equivalent, expended on the railroads of the United States amounts to the enormous sum of \$3,436,638,749. It is estimated that \$400,000,000 of capital is annually absorbed by railroad investments. Is it any wonder that an interest so powerful as this is beginning to be felt as one of the controlling influences of the land?

THE TELEGRAPH AND LOUISIANA POLITICS.—The *Attakapas Register*, published at Franklin, St. Mary's parish, La., cites repeated instances of misrepresentations of the Associated Press reports sent North from New Orleans. It also alleges that the reports from Washington are highly colored in behalf of the McEnery faction. The conclusion which it draws is that if the telegraph was owned by the Government, and the rates of telegraphing reduced, such partiality and partisanship could not be successful, and the Union men of the South would stand a better chance. During the late Presidential canvass we noticed the same hostility on the part of the Associated Press. All the Greeley meetings were "great outpourings of the people," "large and enthusiastic," while Republican meetings were simply reported as having taken place without comments; and if for any reasons a Republican meeting was not numerously attended it was pronounced a failure. We are fully convinced that the next Congress will cause to disappear both the Western Union and the Associated Press monopolies.

RUMORS.—Madam Rumor is a very unreliable creature, yet she has more believers than the Christian religion. Her faintest whispers are to tens of thousands the trumpet blasts of truth. It is strange, but as true as it is strange, that the more extravagant and unreasonable her reports the greater is the confidence placed in her word. There are tens of thousands who believe every bad report, and shake their heads with grave suspicion over every good one. They are quick to place rascality and hypocrisy to the credit of their neighbors, but are slow to cancel them when facts disprove them. We see this illustrated daily. The tongue of idle gossip starts a base slander about some public character. It is caught up and retailed as truth. Not a particle of evidence goes with it, yet it is believed, and when evidence to disprove it follows, people handle it cautiously, and look over it for

some flaw or contradiction, hoping to find some plausible ground on which to reject it, and thus confirm their worst suspicions. True, this public character may have stood before the public gaze a score of years without a blemish or a fault; but a single breath of slander destroys in an hour the confidence which years of honorable toil have inspired.

This is wrong! A good reputation should be a shield to the man or woman who wears it. It should entitle them to the fullest measure of public confidence, until rumor assumes the form of facts. We should not call upon them to prove a negative, but demand from the accuser positive proof that what is charged is true. Nor should respectable journals circulate this miserable gossip that is born of envy or malice. A single line in type may effect an injury that can never be repaired. Better ignore all rumors that affect personal character than to be a party to a wrong. If a rumor is true you can afford to wait for its confirmation. If it is false, it should never be strengthened by your voice or influence.

THE Democratic leaders are in a sad condition. They affect a high-toned morality in political affairs, but fail to convince the public that they are really converted from the error of their ways. They have preached honesty so often, and practiced it so little, that no one has confidence in their sincerity. The shortcomings of a few Republicans have been eagerly seized upon by these disconsolate politicians, and they have tried their best to convince the people that an exceptional piece of rascality was the rule of the party. But they have made slow progress in the work. So many Democrats have been mixed up in the corrupt schemes that have been exposed through the vigilance of the Republican party, that a blow aimed at the head of an opponent is sure to kill one of their own friends.

It is very perplexing to have their eloquent sermons on the necessity of political purity marred by the indiscreet action



of their friends. If they could only enforce honesty among Democrats for a few months, they could then point to their followers as models of political excellence; but to enforce an impossibility is beyond their power, so they are forced to accept one of two alternatives—the repudiation of their own rascals, or their defence for the sake of the power which they wield in the very element of strength which makes Democracy possible. To repudiate, is self-annihilation; to justify or defend, is to disarm them of the only weapon which they can wield against Republicans.

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THE PUBLIC DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES.—Secretary Richardson's work on the above-named subject appears to have attracted the attention of the London press. The following notice is clipped from the *European Mail* of March 15:

"The position which the author occupies as Assistant Secretary in the United States Treasury has enabled him to perform satisfactorily what, on the face of it, appears to be a Herculean task. Not only has he given every detail of interest to the commercial world in reference to the national debt, but he has added to this information a digest of the national banking laws as they apply to banks, bankers, brokers, bank directors and investors. Information is also given on the bonded debt; debt which has ceased to bear interest; coin certificates; certificates of deposit; debt bearing interest in currency; United States notes and fractional currency; distinctive paper; exchange of mutilated and defaced notes; the mode of transferring registered and coupon bonds; the issue of duplicates in case of loss or destruction; coin in the Treasury; sale of gold; redemption of bonds, and no end of practical information on kindred topics. This work should find a place in the library of all our merchants and financiers."

The definite and accurate information which this book will put within the reach of the moneyed men of the principal financial centres of Europe will be likely to facilitate, to a considerable degree, the negotiation of the new four and a half per cent. loan soon to be placed upon the market, for which reason

its publication may be considered to have been exceedingly opportune.

The Republican party can afford to repudiate its dishonest followers. The official that wears its garments must toe the mark of honesty or take a back seat. The great body of the American people were never more in earnest on this point than now. The grade of statesmen that come into power hereafter will be a trifle higher than in the past. The Forty-second Congress has had its full share of honest and noble men; but it has also had a class that failed to live up to the true standard of Republican morality. The people weighed these men, found them wanting, and have sent better ones to fill their places. The lessons which have lately been taught by the press of the country will not be lost on the men who come up fresh from the people. Recent investigations have done good in more ways than one. They have brought our true men to the surface, and opened the eyes of the people to the necessity of sending as their representatives the very best men that can be produced.

The Republican party is not immaculate. It has in its ranks men who disgrace their manhood by acts which no Republican can justify. But we have enough sterling honesty left to fill all the offices in the land, and to keep them filled for some years to come, without risking a choice from among the army of Democrats who are at present tendering their "honest services" to Uncle Sam.

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THE CANADIAN DOMINION.—The *Montpelier Watchman and State Journal* has the following summary of the Canadian provinces:

"A summary of the public accounts of the Dominion, with a comparative account of the liabilities and assets for the different years since the confederation of the provinces, has been published in the Canadian papers. From them we gather the following facts: The receipts of the past year amounted to nearly twenty-one millions of dollars. Ten years ago, for the old province of Canada, the receipts were but little over eight millions of dollars. The customs receipts of last year were more than

twelve and a half millions. In 1862 they amounted to but \$4,652,000. Only three years ago, for 1868-9, the customs receipts were but \$8,272,000. The following year they exceeded nine millions. From that point they took a leap in the following year to over eleven millions. Now they have exceeded twelve and a half millions. The total receipts of consolidated fund, which, for the past year, reached nearly twenty-one millions, amounted, four years ago, to only fourteen millions. Notwithstanding the large sums constantly required for public works, the net debt has remained at a stand-still. The postal service shows a prosperous statement in the face of heavy expenditures for the improvement of postal facilities. Altogether, it seems as if our neighbors of the Dominion have good reason to congratulate themselves on the rate of progress they are making toward becoming a first-class nation."

IN keeping with the silly comments of the Democratic journals on the staff assignment of General Sheridan are the comments from the same source over the considerate action of the Secretary of War in ordering Lieutenant Grant to report at Washington on the 4th of March. We can hardly conceive of a man so mean and selfish as to begrudge the President's son the slight pleasure of seeing his father inaugurated for the second time. A soldier has feeling, sympathy, and affection, the same as other men, and to deny the exercise of either, when the gratification affects no public interest, would be as unjust as it would be unreasonable.

We presume our Democratic neighbors will carefully nurse this little item for the next campaign. It will make a respectable sized plank in their platform, and as they are sorely pressed for timber, they should secure this one to illustrate "the personal government" over which they have shed tears since the overthrow of their impersonal model, the Southern Confederacy. Think of "our modern Cæsar" allowing the eye of his son to rest upon him on the 4th of March. What next in the way of imperial government? The same authority that allowed the young lieutenant to nearly freeze in his saddle while waiting

for the paternal Cæsar to take the oath and read his address can allow the same young officer to enter the White House and sit down at the same table with the chief of the nation. Let Schurz strike the big drum and alarm the nation! The President's son was in Washington on the 4th of March. He made free with his father's cigars. He stood amid the crowd at the east front of the Capitol, and was seen to smile when the Chief Justice vainly tried to protect his venerable head from the sweeping wind that played havoc with the locks of great men. Here is the outcropping of a conspiracy to overturn our Government. Our opponents have another opportunity to regain their former power. If the visit of Fred Grant to Washington to see his father inaugurated can't save the Democracy, it can never see political salvation again.

THE CENSUS OF CANADA.—The census of 1871 for the Canadian provinces gives a population of 6,951,467. In 1861 it was 6,187,122, which is an increase of 764,345 souls. Considering the great disadvantages under which Canada labors as a dependent province, this is a very respectable increase. Annexation would add a million of inhabitants to Canada within five years; and there are many indications that the people across the line begin to perceive the immense advantages they would enjoy as equal partners in the Government of the United States. Canada has its destiny in its own hands, for it is generally conceded that England would not try to hold it by force, and that the United States would welcome it, provided annexation was demanded by a majority of its people.

AN M. C. who earnestly opposed the extra pay amendment to the appropriation bill, has withdrawn his objections and accepted the money. He gives as his reason that he is too patriotic to oppose the laws of the land; and as this extra pay measure is now one of them, he feels under patriotic obligations to give it his hearty support.



## PRESS PHOTOGRAPHS OF OUR COUNTRY.

Frequently have we been tempted to undertake the execution of the laborious and well nigh impossible task of presenting, in photograph pictures, the life of the American people, mirrored in its press from week to week. If the currents of the atmosphere are deemed of sufficient importance to be noted and reported by telegraph at vast expense, so that the weather may be foretold for twenty-four hours, of how much greater service would a carefully and judiciously selected picture of the thought, society, and life of the country be to the statesman and philanthropist? In the hope that the present partial attempt of a review of our exchange list for the week ending March 25th may lead others to undertake a similar work for their States, Congressional districts, and counties, we herewith present a microscopic view of American life for that period, arranged by sections.

## NEW ENGLAND STATES.

**MAINE.**—The Portland *Advertiser* contains the proceedings of a banquet given to the Hon. John A. Lynch, a most faithful representative from that district for the last eight years. It is a great wrong to the State and to the nation that faithful, honest, industrious, and capable men like him are rotated out of office. No matter how capable his successor may be, it will take him four years at least before he can hope to enjoy a similar influence. Mr. Lynch, as might be expected, was welcomed home by his fellow-citizens without distinction of party.

Don Thomas Lozano, consul for Spain, made a brief speech, from which we clip the following:

“‘Without party distinction;’ and now what is the meaning of these beautiful words for a foreigner as I am? The meaning is this: We, the American people, have—as you have in Europe—our different opinions in political matters, but when it is a question of paying compliments (as we now do) to a distinguished gentleman who has done

great service to our country; when it is a question of our common welfare; when it is a question of our sacred institutions, then there are no opinions, no parties, no divisions; we are all friends; we are all brothers; we are all more than that—we are ‘citizens of the United States.’”

Some of the Maine papers urge the appointment of our jolly old friend, Hon. John A. Peters, of Bangor, for an appointment on the Supreme Bench. His competitors are Artemas Libbey, of Augusta, and Washington Gilbert, of Bath. Peters is one of the few men whom the “back pay and bounty vote” cannot hurt. He made a very useful member.

The Presque Isle *Sunrise* has the following interesting facts concerning Maine journalism:

“An interesting address was delivered recently before the Maine Editors’ Association, at Augusta, Maine, by Joseph Griffin, of Brunswick, a veteran editor. Some notable facts were given. Maine, for instance, has produced 472 authors and 1,340 books and pamphlets. This does not include editors or literary men writing books after leaving the State. Only seven among fifty editors have received a college diploma. More than 200 periodicals have been started in the State, had their brief day, and disappeared. With one exception, (*The Journal of Education*,) no literary or scientific magazine has obtained a permanent footing in the State.”

The Calais *Advertiser* bears the following testimony to the zeal of the revenue officers in that vicinity, to which we call the attention of the Treasury Department:

“We understand that a few days since information was received by the deputy collector on the Canada borders that a certain man had brought over the river a quantity of dry goods, and that he had put them into a bed in his house, in the front chamber. Acting on the information the officer went to the house and informed the man that he understood he had been smuggling, which the man stoutly denied. The officer (a very mild-spoken and polite man) told him it was of no use to deny it, as he had positive information that he had, and that they were deposited in a bed in his front chamber. The man found that he was caught,

and owned up thus: '*He was over to Calais the day before, and was married and brought his wife over, and that they occupied the said front chamber.*' The officer found he had been sold, made his apologies and a hasty retreat. The boys in the neighborhood understood what was going on, and had gathered in front of the house, and when the officer made his appearance, greeted him with a shout which was a caution to all custom-house officers."

VERMONT.—That able journal, the *Rutland Herald*, declares that "the act of Governor Dix in refusing to commute Foster's death sentence was one of the grandest of his life, although but a simple discharge of his own duty. The great stumbling block in the way of criminals, as in that of children and young men, is want of due respect for the law. Due respect for and obedience to all law is the foundation of government, without which there can neither be peace, order, nor security. The public safety demands the enforcement of all laws as a lesson and example to the youth of our land." Pregnant words and timely.

The Governor of Vermont has appointed the 11th day of April as a day of fasting and prayer, stating that—

"No lesson of the past is clearer than that nations have prospered in proportion as they have been pure and virtuous. When vice and corruption have become prevalent enervation and decay appear among the people, and paralysis fastens upon the Government. It is equally apparent that purity rests, for an enduring foundation, upon religion. The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom."

MASSACHUSETTS.—We find the following item in the *Lawrence American*, which rather surprises us, as New England is the home of the lecturing movement. Perhaps we can give an explanation: In the first place, the price of admission ought not to be above twenty-five cents; and, secondly, the lecturers charge altogether out of proportion to the services they render. The same amount of mental effort put forth in writing would not yield one-tenth the income. No man's lecture is worth more than \$100 per night, while the

majority of lectures are well paid for at \$50. When the business has found its proper level, lectures will again be attended:

"Lectures as a rule do not pay well in Lawrence, and lecture committees are not to be blamed if they hesitate about bringing the best talent to the city. No matter how anxious some people may be to hear a lecturer of high reputation, and to have others hear him, they do not care to lose money by engaging the services of such."—*Lawrence American*.

"The experience of committees here will fully attest the truth of the above. Theaters and minstrel companies are sure of a full house, while science and literary merit go a begging."—*Haverhill Publisher*.

In the New England States we also find numerous complaints against the arbitrary regulations of railway managers. From a long and able article in the *Wakefield Citizen* we clip the following:

"With an arrogance that is disgusting, and the more so because based on the treacherous ground of perhaps temporary power, the Eastern road, in conjunction with its fellows, has this week put forth its manifestos declaring its supremacy, and giving the law to the travelling public in a manner that would indicate that the road, and not the public, were the arbiters of these matters. Railroads are but a trust, granted by the people's special will and for their benefit, created and sustained by their patronage, and subject to their demands; but the view that is held by the majority of these servants of the people, their managers, is too often totally different from this."

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—The *Northern Advocate*, a sprightly journal, published at Claremont, contains the following:

"At the annual session of the Grand Lodge of Good Templars, held at Worcester last week, the question of allowing lodges to encourage dancing at gatherings under their auspices—one which had been the subject of fruitful discussion in the past—was discussed at considerable length, as it appears that some of the lodges have held regular parties at which dancing was one of the amusements advertised. The matter was settled by a vote directing the Grand Council to enforce the constitutional provision that "no dancing, or other exercises detrimental to the cause of temperance, shall be held under the auspices of the



lodge," and to revoke the charter of any lodge which allows dancing under its auspices, if in the discretion of the Grand Council it seems necessary."

**CONNECTICUT.**—We are rejoiced to perceive, from the following local in the *Bridgeport Standard*, that the Kindergarten school system—(why not call it the children's garden-school system)—is flourishing in that city. Its extension will be one of the great blessings of our times:

"Last spring, about the first of May, a new school for young children was opened on the corner of Myrtle avenue and West Liberty street. The Kindergarten was then an almost unheard of thing in this city. The school commenced with twelve scholars, but such has been its growing popularity that it now numbers thirty. Mr. John Hurd has recently purchased of Captain John Brooks the lot on Myrtle avenue next north of the Presbyterian church, and a newschool building for the Kindergarten will soon be erected."

#### THE CENTRAL STATES.

**NEW YORK.**—In the Empire State two questions are chiefly engaging the attention of the press—the new charter for New York city and numerous constitutional amendments, which the Constitutional Commission has laid before the Legislature. We observe that the *Courtland Journal*, the *Newburgh Journal*, the *Oswego Times*, and other able local journals approve the constitutional amendments generally; and a careful perusal has convinced us that they are drawn with great care, and in the interest of good government.

The *Homer Republican*, in commenting upon Grant's inaugural, remarks:

"We must do something else besides build railroads and import foreign manufactures for consumption. We must stop sending off the fat of our land in the form of cotton, tobacco, hops, corn and cheese. We must encourage home consumption, and keep all the valuable elements of our soil at home for fertilizing purposes. To do this we must work up our own raw materials, and send abroad little but the results of mechanical and manufacturing skill. In other words, we must sell labor instead of raw materials, and wear home-made goods and

use home-made tools and implements of all kinds."

The *Buffalo Freie Presse* reproduces an article from the *Cologne Gazette*, which, like all monarchical organs, has taken exception to the prediction of the inaugural that sooner or later a government by the people, and for the people, will supercede despotism, and remarks:

"The very name 'Republic' strikes terror into a loyal subject's soul. Of what use is Europe's culture and civilization when they cannot obtain a recognition of the rights of men. Enforced and perpetual guardianship is not progress, but decay."

The comments of the *Freie Presse* are in striking contrast to those of the so-called Democratic press, which vies with the European press in burning incense under William's nose.

One of the most cheering signs of the times is the total emancipation of the county press from the pernicious influence of the metropolitan. Thus, while Secretary Richardson is lampooned by the united New York city press, the *Winfield Standard* expresses the conviction of the county when it declares—

"The country will welcome with satisfaction the announcement that the advisors of the President are to remain in the Cabinet and have faith that the new Secretary of the Treasury will follow the precepts of his former chief."

**PENNSYLVANIA.**—The *Media American* represents the general public sentiment of the State when it speaks of Governor Hartranft as a model governor. His vetoes of several questionable measures have even forced his enemies, represented by the *Philadelphia Press*, to do him justice. The cause of good government has in him an earnest friend and supporter.

That carefully-edited and beautifully-printed journal the *Montrose Republican*, remarks:

"The defeat of the bill known as the 'Pennsylvania Railroad project,' in the New Jersey Legislature, is about the first great defeat that Tom Scott, 'the Railroad King,' ever endured. The struggle between the people on one hand and the powerful railroad corporations on the other, for the control of the law-making power, must come, and the sooner the

people take hold of the matter in earnest the better for the country."

The Skippack (Pa.) *Bote* contains an interesting historical sketch on the origin and development of German literature in North America. It appears that Benjamin Franklin published three German works—the first in 1730, and two others in 1742, using the Roman letters. One of these publications was a catechism of the Reformed Church. The next publisher was Cristoph Saur, of Germantown, who first printed with German type imported from Frankfort. The first German Bible, and, in fact, the first Bible in any language, printed in North America was printed by him in 1743; a second edition in 1763, and a third in 1776. The archives of the German Historic and Antiquarian Society of Skippack contain eighty-six publications of the last century, and its collection is one of the most rare and valuable in the Union. We hope the association will persevere, as documents like these are of incalculable value to the historian.

#### THE WEST.

OHIO.—The Troy *Union* announces the death of Bishop Melvaine, one of the most active philanthropists and eminent divines in the West, as follows:

"A great, good man has fallen before the relentless scythe of the death angel. The Right Rev. Charles P. Melvaine, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of the diocese of Ohio, died at Florence, Italy, on Friday morning of last week, whither he had gone for the benefit of his health. He was a little past seventy-five years of age. By the death of this eminent man the church, not only of this country but of the whole world, has lost one of its ablest and most devoted members. For learning, piety, simplicity of character, and habits he has been equalled by few, excelled by none, and not only will he be missed from his own branch of the church, but from the Christian world at large."

The Bucyrus *Journal* quotes extracts from twenty Republican journals published in Ohio in denunciation of the back pay vote. No political error has received so unanimous a disapproval by all classes since the days of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as the retroactive clause of the salary bill.

The Zanesville *Courier* very truly remarks, in speaking of the Ohio Constitutional Convention, that the constitution cannot contain everything. Something must be trusted to the intelligence and integrity of the legislators. Too many provisions for details in the constitution lead to manifold inconveniences and endless litigation.

The Upper Sandusky *Reporter*, in speaking of the back-pay and salary questions, remarks:

"Republican papers have almost unanimously published the full vote on the Congressional salary-steal grab, but we notice that many of our Democratic exchanges have so far suppressed the vote. Why is this? Come, patriotic gentlemen, give your readers the yeas and nays, hurt where it will, and let them draw their own conclusions."

This is only one of many evidences of the insincerity of the Opposition to secure real reform. They encourage the Republican press in criticising their own men for the sole purpose of deriving partisan advantages; and while they denounce "corruption" in general terms, and Republican corruption particularly, they carefully refrain from censuring their own men. "Stand by your guns," boys, should be our motto.

INDIANA.—We believe every journal in the State has condemned the back-pay vote of the late Congress. The Valparaiso *Vidette* wishes the President had vetoed the bill, even if an extra session of Congress had to be called. This is an extreme view, for an extra session would, in printing and otherwise, have cost more than the entire amount appropriated. The remedy is with the people, and they should be taught to look to themselves and not to the President to redress grievances of this character.

The Greencastle *Banner* gives an account of a public meeting held in support of the new temperance law in Indiana. It appears that in all localities where public opinion is favorable the law is strictly enforced. The Democrats are furious that Governor Hendricks did not veto the bill.



The Greensburg *Standard* publishes the titles of the laws of the Indiana Legislature. There were 111 laws enacted and 15 joint resolutions—altogether too many for a single session.

The Vevay *Reveille* truly remarks:

"No system of education was ever so false and dangerous as that which inculcates the idea that labor is a badge of dishonor, or that the laboring man is not the peer of the most exalted in the land. The workshop is the best and the surest road to usefulness and to fortune. It lies directly in the path of honor and distinction and wealth. It is the best theater now offered for the most perfect development of the man of genius and of talent. There is no place where the man of education can demonstrate his capacity for usefulness better than in the machine shop and amidst the steam and machinery of our great manufacturing. It is, above all others, the place for the young man who really wants to work and win his way to wealth and to an honored and honorable position among his fellow-men."

ILLINOIS.—This State is still agitated by the anti-monopoly war. Farmers' meetings are still being held, but all of the participants do not seem to be beyond temptation. In fact, in Iowa a law against railways was defeated by the deliberate absenteeism of several farmers, one of whom was the master of a grange. We quote the following from the *Sterling Standard*:

"The farmers hereabouts circulated a petition against the taking of free passes on the part of legislators and others, and at the convention held in this city last week they passed a very stringent resolution on the subject. A certain railway company played a good practical joke on them by offering one of their committees passes over their road; and they were accepted and used. Under the circumstances, the joke is decidedly on the farmers' committee, and 'the monopoly' is one or two ahead."

MICHIGAN.—The Flint *Citizen* justly compliments Senator Ferry for his efforts to secure Mackinac Island as a national park. We have travelled over the larger part of Europe, and can certify that there is rarely found a more enchanting place, or one containing so many natural objects of beauty than this island. When art has come to the aid of boun-

tiful nature, Mackinac will be the summer resort of thousands of our overworked business and professional men:

"The people of Michigan must give their Senator, Hon. Thomas W. Ferry, credit for the zeal and ability with which he prosecutes what is for their advantage, and the perseverance with which he looks after their interests. Our readers will remember what we have published in relation to his bill establishing the island of Mackinac as a public park for the recreation of the citizens of Michigan and visitors from other States. That bill passed the Senate committee, but failed to be reached before Congress adjourned. But Mr. Ferry is not to be foiled in a good work, when any means are to be found for completing it. Accordingly, in this instance he has taken advantage of the special session of the Senate to accomplish by resolution what had failed through the adjournment."

The Vassar *Pioneer* in speaking of the spring elections, justly remarks that it is all-important to elect capable and honest men. Tuscola county, by the by, is one of the best agricultural counties in the State, and settled by a most excellent population:

"It should be the aim of every citizen at the approaching township elections to get the best men into office. In our caucuses and at our elections let this be the motto, 'the right man in the right place.' Then everything works well. In electing township officers, and to some extent county officers, there is no occasion for drawing party lines very close, as no great political issues or principles are involved."

The Port Austin *News*, under the caption of "Women's Rights," says:

"A bill has passed the Legislature of this State, authorizing a justice of the peace to issue an execution against the body of any female who violates the law regulating traffic in intoxicating drinks, and subjecting them to the same proceedings and penalties as the lords of creation are subject. Quite a debate arose on the subject. Senator DeLand did not feel disposed to imprison a woman for selling a glass of beer, and did not believe any way in enacting laws that would serve as a pretext for venting neighborhood spites. Senator Richardson thought there was no propriety in this era of women's rights in exempting women from penalties to which men are subjected. Senator Wheeler, on the other hand, held that there was

no propriety in exempting women from imprisonment for ordinary torts, as they are exempted by the law, and yet imprison them for violating an act that has been a dead letter for twenty years. Notwithstanding opposition the bill was passed by a large majority."

WISCONSIN.—Governor C. C. Washburn has earned much popularity, both by the reproduction of his speech against the Credit Mobilier in 1868, and by several vetoes of printing and other claims. The *Baraboo Republic* says it is remarkable that in making up "the slate" for candidates for the fall elections, Governor Washburn always heads the list.

The *Delevan Republican* speaking of education, has some excellent remarks, but it should remember that before additional studies can be introduced the methods of teaching must be changed. Lecturing must be substituted for lessons in books:

"Why is it that while children's minds are stuffed with 'book' knowledge, and they are compelled to commit to memory things which they do not comprehend and are not interested in, no instruction is given them in the simplest, though important, lessons of nature? Among the first things that it would seem natural that a child should be taught is something in reference to its own life, the structure and parts of its own body, the use of the various parts, and some instruction as to the habits of life necessary to attain and preserve health. There is no reason why it should be kept in ignorance of simple but interesting and useful facts in reference to animal life, the structure and habits of plants, some knowledge of the earth it treads upon and the stones it stubs its toes against, the chemistry of common things, the rudimental principles of natural philosophy," &c.

The *Jonesville Gazette*, one of the most considerably and ably edited journals in the Northwest, introduces one of its editorials as follows:

"We commend to the careful consideration of the farmers and everybody interested in the proper management of our railroads—and who is not interested?—an article from the *Washington Republic*, which we publish elsewhere, and which contains more practical wisdom in the limited space which it occu-

pies, on the questions at issue between the farmers, the manufacturers, the producers of the country, and the railways than any other article we have seen. This is so because the article is evidently written by a person who possesses an intimate knowledge of the whole field of the controversy, as well as of the results of the investigation and experiences which have been had on this subject, with special reference to promoting the general interests of the public."

We notice that Charles Francis Adams also advocates the purchase and operation by the Government of a sufficient number of railways to regulate the balance, and this will be the only permanent remedy. The question of the capacity of the civil service to conduct this service, as well as the telegraph, we hope to discuss at length as occasion may serve.

The *Delevan Reporter* has the following, which shows that the children's garden system of teaching is received with favor both in the East and West:

"Austria has just adopted the Kindergarten as a part of her school system. All children from four to six years old must go to these infant schools, and all normal students are to be taught the methods of Froëbel, the great inventor of the 'Kindergarten.' When shall the lowest department of every graded school in Wisconsin be made a paradise instead of a purgatory to the little ones by being conducted as a 'Kindergarten?'"

IOWA.—The *Logan Star* has the following, which shows that the principle of civil-service examination is forcing its way:

"Our Congressman, Hon. J. W. McDill, proposes to select a candidate for West Point by a competitive examination before a competent committee. We understand the examination is to take place at Council Bluffs on the 9th of April next, and that the committee has been selected."

MINNESOTA.—The *Alexandria Post* announces that the House of Representatives have impeached the State Treasurer, William Seeger, for alleged default, and adds:

"Thus far the work has been well done. We trust there will be no expense or labor spared to expose completely



every fraud which has existed. Our State is too young, and has before it too bright a future to leave this matter half finished. For the sake of good repute among our sister States, for the reputation of the party which put William Seeger into office, this blot on our record must be promptly effaced and the delinquent visited with the punishment provided by the law."

The St. Cloud *Press* advocates biennial sessions of the Legislature:

"We go in for biennial sessions. In the first place it will save to the State an expense of \$70,000 every other year—that was the cost of the session of our Legislature which just closed)—and in the second place, it will lessen jobbery, weaken the power of rings, and do away to a great extent with a recognized evil—too much legislation. Fully one-half the time of the recent session was given to the consideration of trivial, unimportant or pernicious questions and schemes."

The Redwood Falls *Mail* is enthusiastic over the organization of a very important railway to that section of the country:

"The organization of the Duluth, St. Cloud and Yankton Railway works a new era in the prosperity of Minnesota. This projected line cuts, by short distances, every present or contemplated railroad in the State that it touches. Its upper end reaches to the navigable rivers of Lake Superior, and lies through the very heart of the pine and hard-wood region of the State, while the southern part traverses the center of the future grain and stock region."

KANSAS.—The Washington *Republican* gives some excellent advice to the Kansas farmers who, under the auspices of granges, are trying the "coöperative plan" of purchase and sale. It may be well for them to combine and give their trade to a particular merchant if thereby a *bona fide* reduction of prices can be obtained; but if they try to keep store themselves, the chances are that the agent alone will get rich:

"From a careful investigation of the subject we feel safe in saying that not one merchant in ten in Northern Kansas, and we doubt if that many in the State are prepared to meet their payments on time. What is the cause of this? Because their goods have been sold out on credit all over the country. There are thousands of dollars of out-

standing accounts in our own town, which if paid would enable the merchants to meet their engagements promptly, and enable them to sell at smaller profit. But the merchant is asked to advance the price of farm products. The price of farm produce is as wholly out of the control of the merchant as the wind and weather."

The Grasshopper Falls *Grasshopper* gives the following sensible advice:

"The spring of 1873 has opened, and every man in Kansas who has a patch of ground, from a town lot to a thousand-acre farm, should plant trees, and should plant them now—plant them in your door yards, plant them in groves, plant liberally and in good variety. There is nothing that will pay better than tree-planting. Several varieties will, in fifteen years, produce fence posts, railroad ties, and cord wood, and, if properly planted and cultivated, will bring from \$500 to \$1,000 per acre in that time. The benefit on the climate will be incalculable. As the country is brought under cultivation and groves of trees are planted our rain-fall will increase, our streams become more inexhaustable, and our seasons more even."

NEBRASKA.—Among the most enthusiastic notices of any place, we quote the annexed from the *Seward Reporter*. We hope it is only the scenery which is giving the editor such wonderful inspiration:

"Three streams of water, the Big Blue river and Lincoln creek, noted for their beauty of scenery, the fertility of their broad valleys, and the heavy skirtings of timber along their banks, from the west and northwest, and Plum creek from the northeast, unite near the geographical center of Seward county. At the confluence of these streams, on a broad, elevated, beautiful table-land, lies the town of Seward. From this commanding position, the eye rests on, and revels amid, the beauties of a landscape, peerless in detail and magnificent in extent—gently undulating prairie, plains gradually sloping down to wide, rich valleys, through which meander clear, deep, *sparkling* streams, bordered by the living, waving green of the forest—till, as far as the eye can reach, on every side, the glowing beautiful panorama melts into the soft, deep blue of the far off horizon! Such is the site of the town of Seward."

"Sparkling rivers" is not bad, even if it is a typographical blunder.

## THE SOUTHERN STATES.

MARYLAND.—The *Annapolis Gazette* pays the following compliment to Hon. John A. J. Creswell:

"It gives us great pleasure that our distinguished Postmaster General, Hon. John A. J. Creswell, has been again selected by General Grant for a place in his new Cabinet. Mr. Creswell is a gentleman of eminent ability. He has conducted the affairs of the Post Office Department of the Government with singular success and satisfaction to the country. His administration has been marked by valuable reforms and improvements in his department. His invaluable services have been recognized by the whole nation, and largely and favorably commented upon by the press of both political parties. His executive capacity has won for him universal recognition and golden encomiums. The Republican party of this State can well afford to be proud of having given to the country so valuable a public servant."

VIRGINIA.—The *Lynchburg Press*, in reply to some attacks upon Judge Rives, United States District Judge for the western part of Virginia, remarks:

"We and all who know Judge Rives, know that he is wholly incapable of saying or doing anything unworthy of his character as a highly conscientious and very able and intelligent judge. Such is his reputation with all who know him in any of the walks of life, and he has never done, and we will venture to assert he never will do, anything inconsistent with it."

The judge is an honor to the judiciary, and only intense partisan malice would assail him. It will be a sad day for Virginia when high-minded men like him are driven from office to make room for blatant political demagogues.

The *Richmond State Journal* has an able editorial on the bad effects of purely intellectual, we may say memorative, education:

"The Tredegar Iron works in this city, under its highly skilled and intelligent management, is doing more to lift labor out of its unnatural conditions of degradation in the past than any or all of our educational institutions put together. It stamps the skilled workman with an independence of character and a nobility of manhood which can never be reached by inherited fortune nor by

any third or fourth rate position in the 'learned professions,' so called. In the past our young men have regarded the learning of trades as implying something of this degradation of pursuits—something approaching the labor of the slave and the hireling—and those who had not the prospect of a plantation with plenty of negroes to work it, either crowded the professions we have named or sought effeminate positions in our cities, where clerkships and places of small labor, and still smaller emolument, invited to more honorable pursuit. What a wretched appreciation was this! Labor, educated and intelligent labor, is the foundation—the true corner-stone—of all national greatness and prosperity. It is the foundation also of all individual success and achievement in life; it is the element, in fact, of all true greatness in the individual as it is of all national advancement and power in the State."

NORTH CAROLINA.—The *Winston Republican* states that the late Legislature of that State passed 359 laws, mostly of an incorporative and private character.

MISSOURI.—Among the most sensible and most ably-conducted journals on our exchange-list is the *Missouri Staats Zeitung*, (St. Louis.) It gives in a late number a comparison of the personal allowances made to the rulers of Europe, with the salary paid to President Grant, as follows:

Queen Victoria, per day.....	\$8,027
William of Prussia.....	8,210
Francis Joseph of Austria.....	10,950
President Grant.....	127

Yet the American nation is by far the most prosperous and able to pay a large salary. The European monarchs are born to the throne; the American President can only obtain the distinction of an election by honorable and distinguished deeds.

MISSOURI.—The *St. Joseph Daily Herald* welcomes the resignation of Mr. Curtis as follows:

"It is a great mistake to suppose that the people of this county care anything about the Curtis-Medill scheme of civil service reform, or ever have. Here and there a crotchety individual has no doubt honestly thought there was something valuable in it—that's all—and they were much mistaken. Competitive examinations in scholarships, and a virtual life-



time in office, were its chief features. In practical operation, the system was notoriously bad, and the President ought to improve the favorable opportunity now presented to rid himself of this sham altogether."

We are fully convinced that while the people desire civil service reform—that is, capable and honest men in office—they have no faith that a technical, competitive examination is the best means of securing the object in view.

MISSISSIPPI.—The *Okolona News* defends the Hon. Henry W. Barry from the fierce attacks of some disappointed office-seekers, and states that Mr. Barry has made a very useful member. We coincide in the opinion of the *News*, that Mr. Barry is a very creditable representative and a growing man.

TEXAS.—The Republican press of this State is fighting with energy for the life of the common-school system. In the North, where we are merely discussing the best methods of education; while we have palaces for school houses, we can scarcely realize that Democracy, in its hatred to light and truth, is trying to strangle the school in its birth. For months the teachers have not been paid; and it is the deliberate intention of the Texas political managers of that great reform party, of which the *New York Tribune* and *Nation* are the champions, to starve them out. We quote from the *Austin Journal*:

"If there is any matter in which working men of every race and color in Texas are united, it is in the firm conviction that their children are entitled to receive a fair education in the public free schools. Men of wealth, without families, or whose families are grown up, or whose children are sent to expensive institutions, are the only class that are indifferent or hostile to public education. Such are often very narrow and selfish in their views. There may be found among them men who do not comprehend that in Republics the prosperity and well-being of society depends intirely upon the intelligence—the cultivated intelligence and moral training of the masses of the sovereign people, whose votes control our affairs, whether State or national. A man who, in this nineteenth century, does not clearly perceive that society has

to resort to public education, as a preventive against crime, and as a protection to property, is, indeed, in a very benighted condition."

The *St. Antonio Express*, another Republican journal, in speaking of "public free schools," remarks:

"Upon this subject we have repeatedly and earnestly written. The successful exhibition by the Flores street freeschool Monday night, a brief account of which is elsewhere given, urges upon us another effort to arouse the public to a sense of the danger in which the system has been placed by the inaction, and apparent hostility of the present Legislature of the State. If the system as at present formed is defective, the Legislature has had ample time to remedy its defects; but it has so far done nothing practical. It has appropriated \$400,000 to pay the teachers, yet the teachers are unpaid. A more shameful instance of neglect and real indifference, with a sham pretense, by the Democracy, of friendship for a free-school system, has never been seen in any State. Societies and laws to prevent cruelty to animals compel a quick, and, as far as possible, painless destruction of the brutes dying from disease or starvation; our legislators in their monstrous wisdom and mercy are doing all they can to starve out the free schools of the State. Their compassion is that of the dog in the manger; their meanness infinitely disreputable. The teachers ask them for bread—for simple justice—for what have already earned, and they are proffered with hypocritical protestations a stone, vague and valueless promises."

Let it be remembered by the Republican press that the overthrow of the Republican party means the rule of the Texas Democracy. Had Greeley been elected he would have been with the electoral votes of Texas, Louisiana, and similar States. Those journals who pretend to believe that the National Government, under influences like these, would be more wisely and honestly conducted than it is now, are as full of deceit and dishonesty as an egg is of meat.

#### THE FAR WEST.

OREGON.—For weeks the entire Oregon press has been enraged at the conduct of the Peace Commission in the Modoc difficulty. They claimed that negotiations carried on through go-betweens like squaws, Boston Charley,

Bogus Charley, Nasty Jack and others, would only lead to the massacre of the settlers as soon as the grass was sufficiently long to afford pasture. They pointed out, with clearness, that treachery lurked behind these negotiations, and that it was a shame and humiliation of no ordinary depth to treat through such embasseys with hardened savages. They said that it was an outrage upon their intelligence and their civil rights for parties four thousand miles from the seat of the difficulty to pretend to know better what was needed than the inhabitants of Oregon and California.

We fully believe in the "President's peace policy;" we hold that peaceful Indians should be treated humanely; that the Indian ring should not be permitted to plunder them, and that wicked white men who injure them should be punished; but we do not believe in giving any other terms to Indians in arms than those that Grant gave to Lee—unconditional surrender. The submission to the national will, and the laying down of arms, must be made the conditions precedent to all negotiations. A summons to surrender may precede a fight, but negotiations with armed savages, upon terms of equality, never. Notwithstanding the merciless treachery of the Modocs, which will enrage the entire population of the boarder States, we still hope that the President's policy of good treatment to peaceful Indians will be supported by public sentiment.

In the Modoc negotiations this spirit was carried too far, and the result was the assassination of General Canby, one of the bravest and best officers of our army. We annex only two paragraphs of the many before us, clipped from the *Oregon Press*, to which we intended to call the especial attention of our authorities, when the telegraph announced the massacre of the peace commissioners.

The Jackson *Sentinel* says:

"It is said that Captain Jack is expecting reinforcements from the Klamaths, and that it is his intention to leave the lava beds and commence raiding as soon as the grass is good. Mean-

while the powers that be are trying for peace when there can be no peace. Another commissioner, Rev. E. Thomas, has been added to the second peace commission. How long must these things be? How much longer will our Government humiliate itself in the vain endeavor to patch up an ignominious peace with a few murdering, thieving Indians?"

The Yamhill county *Reporter* says:

"Among the Indian embassy who came from the lava beds to treat with the peace commission, it is said, Louis Land, a partner of Henry Miller, who was one of the victims of the massacre, and whose house was rifled of its contents, recognized one of the murderers as he proudly rode up and dismounted from a fine animal stolen from him at that time. The scoundrel also sported a new suit of clothes, which Mr. Land identified as his own."

NEVADA.—The annexed local item from the Gold Hill *Daily News* speaks volumes in behalf of postal-savings banks. Make every post office the people's bank, perfectly safe, and open at all times, and thousands of youths will become worthy men, by having "a stake in the country," instead of loafers devoid of self-respect:

"Yesterday a young Cornishman, who is at present employed in the Crown Point mine, and towards whom we have sometime acted in a fiduciary and advisory capacity, handed to us for safe keeping a couple of wads of paper rolled up in the shape of a bullet, which, on being straightened out, were found to be two certificates of deposit amounting together to \$110, most of which our young friend had saved from his March earnings. We were not a little surprised at the amount of self-denial practiced by the young man in saving so large a portion of his earnings. We doubt very much if one out of a hundred of the young men on the Comstock, whether receiving small salaries or large ones, has done quite so well. The mere fact of a young man having \$100 deposited in the bank for a commencement increases his respectability in his own eyes immensely. We sometimes get worsted, however, in our arguments in favor of money saving by men who maintain that they may as well spend their money as they go along as to save up their hard earned wages only to have them swept from them in an hour by some absconding broker."



IDAHO.—The Boise City *Statesman* seems to recognize the importance of planting home manufactures in the far west. It says:

"We want capitalists to build quartz mills and work our mines; build manufacturing and tanneries, and weave the cloth for our clothing; manufacture leather, brooms, sugar, soap, candles, bacon, and, in short, every article of consumption for which we now send abroad, but tea and coffee. Producing all we needed for consumption at home, and digging our spending money out of our own mines, how could we be otherwise than prosperous and independent? But we are asked, how is this to be done? The easiest matter imaginable. Just collect and set forth the facts in convenient form, let every fact stated be irrefutable, and let these go forth to the world in such a way that they can be relied on, and immigration is at once secured; for every one who comes will write to a friend, and will confirm the statements we have made, because they have found them true."

CALIFORNIA.—The Humboldt *Times* in referring to the use of money to secure an election to the United States Senate, remarks:

"The drift now is towards a government by vast corporations, in which the people have no other part than to consent at the polls to the programme which has been arranged in advance. Either the political influence of these corporations must be circumscribed, or the Senate will be filled up with wire-pullers and small attorneys, and other riff-raff of corporate breeding. It was once possible to elect the purest and ablest men to the Senate. It is not possible now in more than half the States of the Union."

#### CONCLUSION.

An examination of upwards of six hundred exchanges has brought prominently before us the sincerity and honesty of our country press. Everywhere it is earnestly striving for improvement in education and in ethics, and endeavoring to advance the general prosperity of the people.

We believe, however, that there is manifested too great a disposition to find fault, unconnected with suggestions for improvement. The Opposition press feels itself under no restraint or responsibility.

It devolves, therefore, upon the Republican press alone to think for the nation and to guide its destiny.

When the last Congress abolished the system of free exchanges, and the free delivery of papers within county limits, it struck at the main support, not merely of the Republican party, but of the Republic itself, and we shall use our best energies to have these provisions restored. The first week of the session shall not close without the introduction of a bill for that purpose. No paper ought to advocate the renomination of any Congressman who refuses to it this justice.

We have also noticed, with great pleasure, that the great majority of the country press is free from personalities, and earnestly devoted to the advocacy of measures rather than of men.

The toils of the editor are sweetened by the pleasure of becoming acquainted with so many earnest and brave men, laboring from week to week to make "the world the better for having lived therein."

COTTON.—The Montgomery *Advertiser*, speaking of the cotton crop for 1872, says: "The money paid for it in its raw state will not fall short of \$330,000,000; of this sum about \$35,000,000 will have gone to speculators and first purchasers, leaving \$295,000,000 to the producers. Alabama's share of this magnificent sum is nearly \$35,000,000, estimating her crop at 400,000 bales." This report speaks well for the South. It looks like the flood-tide of olden prosperity. If the raw material produced brings such immense wealth to the South, what may we expect when this material shall be manufactured into goods near the spot where it is grown? This is one of the possibilities for which the South should labor. She should encourage home industry, and through her own factories appropriate to herself the profits that are daily enriching others. We believe the day is not far distant when the looms of the South will confer greater wealth upon her people than the cotton grown on her soil.

## DEPARTMENTAL.

## INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

## UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE.

*Mahlon Loomis, of Washington, District of Columbia—Improvement in Telegraphing—Specification forming part of Letters Patent, No. 129,971, dated July 30, 1872.*

*To all whom it may concern:*

Be it known that I, Mahlon Loomis, dentist, of Washington, District of Columbia, have invented or discovered a new and improved mode of telegraphing and generating light, heat, and motive-power; and I do hereby declare that the following is a full description thereof:

The nature of my invention or discovery consists, in general terms, of utilizing natural electricity and establishing an electrical current or circuit for telegraphic and other purposes without the aid of wires, artificial batteries, or cables to form such electrical circuit, and yet communicate from one continent of the globe to another.

To enable others skilled in electrical science to make use of my discovery, I will proceed to describe the arrangements and mode of operation.

As in dispensing with the double wire (which was first used in telegraphing) and making use of but one, substituting the earth instead of a wire to form one-half the circuit, so I now dispense with both wires, using the earth as one-half the circuit, and the continuous electrical element far above the earth's surface for the other part of the circuit. I also dispense with all artificial batteries, but use the free electricity of the atmosphere, coöperating with that of the earth, to supply the electrical dynamic force or current for telegraphing and for other useful purposes, such as light, heat, and motive power.

As atmospheric electricity is found more and more abundant when moisture, clouds, heated currents of air, and other dissipating influences are left below and a greater altitude attained, my plan is to seek as high an elevation as practicable

on the tops of high mountains, and thus penetrate or establish electrical connection with the atmospheric stratum or ocean overlying local disturbances. Upon these mountain tops I erect suitable towers and apparatus to attract the electricity, or, in other words, to disturb the electrical equilibrium, and thus obtain a current of electricity, or shocks, or pulsations, which traverse or disturb the positive electrical body of the atmosphere above and between two given points by communicating it to the negative electrical body in the earth below, to form the electrical circuit.

I deem it expedient to use an insulated wire or conductor as forming a part of the local apparatus and for conducting the electricity down to the foot of the mountain, or as far away as may be convenient for a telegraph office, or to utilize it for other purposes.

I do not claim any new key-board, nor any new alphabet or signals; I do not claim any new register or recording instrument; but what I claim as my invention or discovery, and desire to secure by letters patent, is the utilization of natural electricity from elevated points by connecting the opposite polarity of the celestial and terrestrial bodies of electricity at different points by suitable conductors, and, for telegraphic purposes, relying upon the disturbance produced in the two electro-opposite bodies (of the earth and atmosphere) by an interruption of the continuity of one of the conductors from the electrical body being indicated upon its opposite or corresponding terminus, and thus producing a circuit or communication between the two without an artificial battery or the further use of wires or cables to connect the coöperating stations.

MAHLON LOOMIS.

Witnesses—Boyd Eliot and C. C. Wilson.

## GENERAL LAND OFFICE.

In the case of the tract of land known as the Albion ranch, in Mendocino



county, California, the Commissioner of the General Land Office has decided that a survey of these lands as public lands was made and approved prior to the rejection of the alleged Mexican grant which covered them, and the plots of this survey were filed in the local land office after the rejection of the grant. J. W. Shanklin, as attorney for many parties interested as preëmptionists, &c., in opposition to State claims for a large portion of the tract which has been listed to as school lands based on this survey, applied to Surveyor General Hardenburgh for a withdrawal of the plots from the local office and an order for a new survey, on the ground that the United States had no right to survey the land while the alleged Mexican title to it was still in controversy. Mr. Hardenburgh refused, and the case was appealed to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, who now sustains the Surveyor General, deciding that the mechanical and topographical work of the survey and its approval were not void, and that the plots are now legally filed in the land office. In this conclusion Commissioner Drummond is sustained by the decision of Secretary Delano in the California case of Gruell vs. Haltabaugh. The alleged Mexican grant to this large tract of land was rejected by the United States District Court in 1867, and by the Supreme Court last November.

#### TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

##### DECISION BY THE COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY.

The following circular has been issued by the Comptroller of the Currency, for the New England States, but possesses general interest:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.  
OFFICE OF THE COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY,  
April 1, 1873.

The act of March 3, 1865, provided that \$150,000,000 of the amount of circulating notes authorized to be issued to national banks should be apportioned to associations in the States, in the District of Columbia, and in the Territories according to representative population, and the remainder among associations formed in the several States, in the District of Columbia, and in the Territories, having due regard to the existing capital re-

sources of such State, District, and Territory.

The act of July 12, 1870, authorized the issue of \$54,000,000 in addition to the \$300,000,000 already authorized to be furnished to banking associations organized or to be organized in those States or Territories having less than their proportion under the above apportionment, and provided that the increased circulation should be distributed upon a new apportionment based upon the census of 1870.

Section 6 of the same act required that after the \$54,000,000 authorized should be taken up, \$25,000,000 of the circulation already issued to associations formed in States in excess should be withdrawn and distributed among the States and Territories having less than their proportion, so as to equalize the same.

The \$54,000,000 of additional circulation has been apportioned to banks already organized or in process of organization in the Western and Southern States, but the whole amount has not yet been issued, and may not be issued for some months to come, possibly not until the meeting of next Congress. As soon as the whole amount shall be issued, it will be my duty to make requisition upon the banks in New York city having more than \$100,000 circulation, and upon those in the States of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts having more than \$300,000 circulation for any excess beyond these amounts; but the date of such requisition is yet uncertain.

Applications are frequently made to this office for an increase of circulation of national banks, or for the organization of new national banks, circulation to be issued upon the condition that the same amount of notes of national banks which have closed business shall be first returned to this office for destruction. The amount issued to the States of — being largely in excess of the amount contemplated by the acts referred to, no further issue of circulation beyond the amount already approved will be issued to national banking associations organized in that State.

Very respectfully,

JOHN JAY KNOX,

*Comptroller of the Currency.*

THE chief of the Revenue Marine Bureau, Treasury Department, ordered the following changes of officers: Captain A. B. Davis, from the Hamilton, at Boston, to the Lincoln, at Port Townsend, W. T.; First Lieutenant Geo. W. Bailey, now commanding the Lincoln, to the command of the revenue cutter Relief,

at Galveston, Texas; Captain James M. Selden, from the Relief to the command of the Active, at New Bedford, Mass.; Captain Joseph Amazeen, from the Active to the command of the Mosswood, at Eastport, Me.; Captain E. B. Hodgson, from the Mosswood to the command of the Delaware, at Mobile, Ala.; Captain S. G. Warner, from the Campbell, at New London, Conn., to the command of the revenue cutter Racer, at Charleston, S. C.; Captain H. P. Hamlin, from the Racer to the Colfax, at Baltimore; Capt. G. W. Moore, from the Colfax to the command of the Campbell.

THE committee, consisting of one from the Secretary's, Treasurer's, and Register's office of the Treasury Department, who were authorized by ex-Secretary Boutwell to take charge of all the currency on hand, and hereafter to be printed, are now carrying out their instructions. No money can hereafter be taken from the vaults of the Treasury without leaving a receipt therefor with this committee.

#### RIGHTS OF AMERICAN FISHERMEN UNDER THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON.

The Secretary of the Treasury has issued a circular to collectors of customs in which he says:

"You are hereby enjoined to make known to the public interested in the subject, as far as possible, that until the provisions of the Treaty of Washington relating to the fisheries shall go into effect, the liberty of fishing in the waters hereafter to be thrown open to the fishermen of the United States by the operation of these provisions, is permissive only, and subject to attempts by private parties to enforce the still existing legal restrictions which are set forth in the circular of this Department, already referred to; and that if American fishermen engaged in fishing within the three-mile limit heretofore mentioned before January 1, 1873, they may still be subjected to serious difficulty by private parties under the provisions of the statutes of the Dominion of Canada."

#### WAR DEPARTMENT.

##### PENSION MATTERS.

The Secretary of War has officially promulgated a law of great importance to soldiers, approved on the last day of

the late session. It provides that the Secretary of War may issue duplicate discharge papers in all cases of loss, but such duplicate may not be accepted as a voucher for payment of any claim against the United States or as evidence in any other case.

#### BUILDING OF BARRACKS SUSPENDED.

Adjutant General E. D. Townsend, in view of the limited appropriations by Congress for the expenses of the War Department, has ordered that all building and repairing of barracks and quarters be suspended for the fiscal year. It is also ordered that all civilians employed on such buildings be discharged, and enlisted men shall be relieved from such duty. Commanding officers of divisions and departments shall require their chief quartermaster to return immediately a statement of their accounts connected with barracks and quarters.

#### APPOINTMENTS AND CHANGES.

Major J. P. Canby is relieved from duty in the Department of the South, and will report for duty to the commanding general of the Department of the Columbia.

Assistant Surgeon Elliott Cones, of Washington, has been ordered to report to the commissioners for the survey of the northern boundary, at St. Paul, Minn.

#### ADDITIONAL BOUNTY.

By act of Congress, approved March 3, 1873, the time for filing application for additional bounty was extended to January 30, 1874. All claims for this bounty should be directed to the Second Auditor, Treasury Department. The provisions of the law remain the same as before, and this extension of time affects only those who have not already received additional bounty and are clearly entitled to the same.

#### DESERTION.

An act of Congress, approved March 1, 1870, forbids the payment of bounty to any person who is borne on the rolls of his regiment as a deserter, unless the record of desertion shall have been cancelled by the Department on the sole ground that it was made erroneously and



contrary to the facts. All correspondence relating to the change of military record should be addressed to the Adjutant General, U. S. A., Washington, D. C.

#### DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

##### UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT — UNITED STATES vs. BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD COMPANY.

Justice Hunt read the opinion of the court, which is, in substance, that the United States has no power to tax that part of the earnings of a corporation which has been previously pledged to a State or municipality. In the case referred to, the City of Baltimore, for the purpose of bringing trade from the West to its citizens, did, by consent of the Maryland Legislature, issue to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company \$5,000,000 worth of bonds to aid in the construction of the road. The condition was that the road should pay to the city a certain percentage of its earnings as a sinking fund, besides the interest on its bonds. The United States undertook to collect an internal revenue tax on the net earnings of the road before deducting the part that was to be paid to the municipality, and the company refused to pay. The Supreme Court holds that this tax, so far as it applied to the city's share of the money, was not a tax levied on the company, but upon the city, and it has often been decided that the United States cannot tax a municipal corporation, which is the representative of a State, so far as certain powers go, any more than it can tax the State itself. The tax ought not in this case, therefore, be collected.

THE United States Supreme Court has decided that railroads are public highways, no matter whether they are built and operated by the State or by private corporations. The building of railroads is, therefore, a matter of public concern, to aid which it is just as lawful to levy taxes as for the building of a wagon road or any other public work, and the collection of these taxes cannot be resisted by authority of Article V of Amendments to the Constitution of the

United States, which provides that private property shall not be taken for public use without allowing just compensation.

ALSO, that the charter of the Kansas Pacific railroad requires the cost of surveying and conveying the lands in question to be paid to the United States by the railroad company, or by the party in interest before a final patent shall be issued, and further directs all lands not sold by the railroad company within three years to be open for sale to *bona fide* settlers at the minimum price of \$1 25 an acre, the money to be paid by the United States to the railroad company. The Supreme Court holds that a State cannot tax such land for two reasons: First, if it could tax and sell them for delinquency, the United States Government's right to receive the cost of the surveys and conveyance before losing its title to them would be interfered with; and, second, because it would interfere with the right of settlers to purchase the lands at the minimum price of \$1 25 an acre. The same requirements being contained in the charters of the Union, Central, and Northern Pacific railroads, their lands will of course fall under the same rule.

#### CONFEDERATE BONDS.

The Supreme Court decides that Confederate war bonds issued by any State in aid of insurrection could not be treated in the same way as Confederate money, which the court has before decided did not vitiate a contract, provided the contract was a lawful one. The Southern Confederacy held exclusive jurisdiction over the territory where the contract was made, and the Confederate money was the usual medium of exchange. The plaintiff in the case in which this opinion was given by Justice Field sued to recover on a note given at Memphis in December, 1862. The admitted consideration of the note was a lot of war bonds issued by the State of Arkansas to aid the rebellion, then worth about 75 per cent. of their par value, and used at that time in Memphis to

some extent as a circulating medium. The Court held that the issue of the bonds being unconstitutional, the consideration of the note was void.

COURT OF CLAIMS—ADDITIONAL RULE.

Any information or papers certified from any of the executive departments, and filed in any cause in this court, may be used and applied in any other pending cause to which the same, under the rules of evidence, be applicable or pertinent. To entitle such information or papers to be used in another cause than that in which they were first filed copies thereof must be filed in such other causes before the same shall have been placed on the trial docket.

CONNECTICUT ELECTION.—The returns at the Hartford *Courant* office, April 8, mostly official, make the vote for Governor as follows:

Counties.	Haven.	Ingersoll.	Smith.
Hartford.....	9,039	9,407	348
New Haven.....	7,084	12,339	552
New London.....	4,800	4,081	545
Fairfield.....	6,789	7,667	264
Litchfield.....	3,993	4,852	118
Windham.....	2,957	1,939	198
Middlesex.....	2,730	2,645	192
Tolland.....	1,945	1,947	180
Totals.....	39,337	45,177	2,397
Ingersoll's majorities.	3,443		

The Senate stand 11 Republicans to 10 Democrats, and the House 119 Republicans to 132 Democrats.

CONGRESSIONAL MAJORITIES.

First district—Hawley, 1,280.  
Second district—Kellogg, 509.  
Third district—Starkweather, 1,548.  
Fourth district—Barnum, (Dem.), 1,675.

It will be seen from the above that while Ingersoll, the Democratic candidate for Governor, is elected by 3,443 majority, the Republican majority on Congressmen in this State is 1,662. This result is heralded as an anti-Republican victory, but what are the facts?

First. It is seen that 2,397 votes were cast for a third, the anti-liquor candidate; these were mainly from the Republican ranks.

Second. The vote for Governor was thrown upon a State issue—the location of the State capital—and a change nearly

equal to the Democratic majority was effected in a single county where the local feeling was strongest.

Third. As compared with the vote for Governor in 1872, when Jewell, the Republican candidate, was elected by 2,001 majority, the aggregate vote of the State fell off 4,314, being more than Ingersoll's majority, while the Democratic vote is 45,177 in 1873, against 44,562 in 1872, showing that the full Democratic vote was polled for Ingersoll, and that those who abstained from voting were all Republicans.

Fourth. The aggregate majority on Republican Congressmen is greater, in proportion to the vote cast, than it was at the previous election—this being the only vote not effected by local issues.

A marvellous credulity is necessary to find in this election any solid comfort for the Democracy, or any discouragement for Republicans.

THE OLD STATES.—The original thirteen States ratified the Constitution of the United States in the following order:

Delaware, December 7, 1787.  
Pennsylvania, December 12, 1787.  
New Jersey, December 18, 1787.  
Georgia, January 2, 1788.  
Connecticut, January 9, 1788.  
Massachusetts, February 6, 1788.  
Maryland, April 28, 1788.  
South Carolina, May 23, 1788.  
New Hampshire, June 21, 1788.  
Virginia, June 26, 1788.  
New York, July 26, 1788.  
North Carolina, November 21, 1789.  
Rhode Island, May 29, 1790.

MICHIGAN furnished only two votes for the \$5,000 back pay appropriation—Messrs. Stoughton (Rep.) and Sutherland (Dem.)—neither of whom has a political future, and therefore felt no responsibility.

TOBACCO.—Kentucky produced in the year 1872, according to the report of the State Auditor, 97,207,261 pounds of tobacco, 30,236,378 short of the product of 1871.